

1992

Promise and performance: The intent and impact of community access cable television in Windsor, Ontario.

James Anthony. Kelly
University of Windsor

Follow this and additional works at: <http://scholar.uwindsor.ca/etd>

Recommended Citation

Kelly, James Anthony, "Promise and performance: The intent and impact of community access cable television in Windsor, Ontario." (1992). *Electronic Theses and Dissertations*. Paper 3209.

This online database contains the full-text of PhD dissertations and Masters' theses of University of Windsor students from 1954 forward. These documents are made available for personal study and research purposes only, in accordance with the Canadian Copyright Act and the Creative Commons license—CC BY-NC-ND (Attribution, Non-Commercial, No Derivative Works). Under this license, works must always be attributed to the copyright holder (original author), cannot be used for any commercial purposes, and may not be altered. Any other use would require the permission of the copyright holder. Students may inquire about withdrawing their dissertation and/or thesis from this database. For additional inquiries, please contact the repository administrator via email (scholarship@uwindsor.ca) or by telephone at 519-253-3000ext. 3208.



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

Canada

Promise and Performance:
The Intent and Impact of Community Access Cable Television
in Windsor, Ontario

by

James Anthony Kelly

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
Through the Department of Communication Studies
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
at the University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada
1992



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-78923-9

Canada

9062298

© James Kelly 1992
All Rights Reserved

ABSTRACT

Promise and Performance:

The Intent and Impact of Community Access Cable Television in Windsor, Ontario

This thesis provides local viewership data in order to test some of the assumptions which underlie the CRTC's policies and regulations governing the provision of community access cable channels in Canada. Two viewership surveys were conducted--one in the fall of 1990 and the other in the spring of 1991--which resulted in a total of 528 completed interviews. A policy analysis was also undertaken.

While the study did find associations between viewership of Windsor's community channel and the presence of community ties in the form of community identification and community involvement, the non-directional nature of the major hypotheses meant that no conclusions could be drawn as to whether Windsor's community channel is fulfilling its mandate. However, the fact that community channel viewership was found to be associated with community ties does perhaps provide some degree of justification for community access programming efforts to continue.

The study also raises questions pertaining to the criteria used to assess the performance of community access television and the efficacy of standard audience survey methods in this regard.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Doreen and Gordon Kelly, whose support, encouragement, and sacrifice have allowed me to complete my studies, and from whose example I have learned the virtues of patience, perseverance, dedication and the value of working hard. These things have served me well throughout my studies and will continue do so in the future. Thanks Mom and Dad!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my appreciation to the following people for their support and guidance, however small or large their contribution may have been. Even the seemingly tiniest gesture of kindness or support may have served to lighten the burden on those days when it seemed to be weighing heaviest.

I would like to thank the members of my thesis committee, Dr. Kai Hildebrandt, Prof. Hugh Edmunds, and Dr. Walter Soderlund, for their input and advice in shaping this thesis. Special thanks must go to my Thesis Chairman, Dr. Hildebrandt, not only for his advice, guidance, and editing skills, but also for his dedication to the completion of the project while under the strain of other commitments (and while also being on "sabbatical").

Thanks also to Mr. Ross Milne, Regional Program Manager at Trillium Cable 11, for his assistance in the undertaking of this study and for the generous sharing of his time to discuss the unique issues surrounding community access television from a 'front line' perspective.

As always, thanks to the Department secretaries, Ann Gallant, Sheila LaBelle, and Lina Beaudry, for their indispensable assistance and for making the Communication Studies Department a pleasant place to be (an amazing feat at times!). If there's ever a contest for World's Greatest Secretaries, you guys would get my vote.

I would also like to thank other faculty members of the Communication Studies Department for their input and interest in my thesis research, especially Dr. Esio Marzotto, Prof. Jim Linton, and Dr. Chris King.

Thanks to all my family (a community unto themselves) for their unconditional support and encouragement which manifested itself in ways many and varied. When you're surrounded by such a safety net it's easy to keep your balance, since you never have to worry about falling very far.

Many thanks to my fellow grad students and friends for their encouragement, companionship, and inspiration throughout my time in Windsor. I won't name you all individually for fear of neglecting someone, but you know who you are. Though our paths are now diverging, I wish you all the best for the future and hope our paths may cross again someday.

And finally, a very special note of appreciation must go to Elaine Grodaes for the support and encouragement she gave throughout all of this, not only to me, but to many others who needed help in a time of crisis, a welcoming smile when all else seemed foreign, or just a sympathetic ear and a friend to talk to. I wouldn't have made it through without you, Elaine, and I'll always be proud to call you my friend.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iv
DEDICATION	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
LIST OF TABLES	xi
LIST OF FIGURES	xi

SECTION ONE: PROMISE

CHAPTER

I. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. <u>INTRODUCTION</u>	1
1.2. <u>HISTORY OF CABLE TELEVISION AND COMMUNITY</u>	
<u>PROGRAMMING IN CANADA</u>	4
1.2.1. REGULATORY HISTORY OF CABLE AND	
COMMUNITY ACCESS	9
1.3. <u>THE COMMUNITY CHANNEL'S MANDATE</u>	11
1.4. <u>THE PROBLEM</u>	14
1.5. <u>PURPOSE OF THE STUDY</u>	17
1.6. <u>ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS</u>	18
II. LITERATURE REVIEW	20
2.1. <u>INTRODUCTION</u>	20
2.2. <u>THE PROMISE OF CABLE TELEVISION</u>	20
2.2.1. THE PROMISE OF CABLE TELEVISION IN THE 1970s	21
2.2.2. CABLE TELEVISION IN THE 1980s	24
2.3. <u>THE PROMISE OF CABLE ACCESS CHANNELS</u>	27
2.3.1. ANTECEDENTS TO CABLE ACCESS: COMMUNITY	
VIDEO EXPERIMENTS	28
2.3.2. THE PROMISE OF CABLE ACCESS IN THE 1970s	30
2.3.3. CABLE ACCESS CHANNELS IN THE 1980s	35
2.4. <u>COMMUNITY ACCESS CABLE TELEVISION AND</u>	
<u>INFORMATION FLOW</u>	43
2.4.1. CENTRALIZED PROGRAMMING AND ISSUES OF	
COMMUNITY	44
2.4.2. HOMOGENIZATION OF PROGRAMMING	48
2.4.3. BROADCAST TELEVISION STRUCTURE AND	
FEEDBACK	53

III. POLICY ANALYSIS	58
3.1. <u>ANALYSIS OF THE CRTC'S COMMUNITY CHANNEL POLICY</u>	58
3.2. <u>CABLE ACCESS TELEVISION AND COMMUNITY TIES</u>	78
3.3. <u>HYPOTHESES</u>	82
IV. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	90
4.1. <u>DATA COLLECTION</u>	90
4.2. <u>MEASUREMENT PROBLEMS</u>	91
4.3. <u>DATA WEIGHTING PROCEDURES</u>	92
4.4. <u>SURVEY VARIABLES AND MEASURES</u>	94

SECTION TWO: PERFORMANCE

V. DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION	99
5.1. <u>INTRODUCTION</u>	99
5.2. <u>COMMUNITY CHANNEL VIEWERSHIP</u>	100
5.3. <u>SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT</u>	104
5.4. <u>SES AND COMMUNITY CHANNEL VIEWERSHIP</u>	108
5.5. <u>COMMUNITY IDENTIFICATION AND LENGTH OF RESIDENCE</u> ..	110
5.6. <u>COMMUNITY IDENTIFICATION AND COMMUNITY</u> <u>INVOLVEMENT</u>	112
5.7. <u>COMMUNITY CHANNEL VIEWERSHIP AND COMMUNITY TIES</u> ..	113
5.8. <u>REGRESSION ANALYSIS</u>	121
5.9. <u>DISCUSSION</u>	124
VI. CONCLUSIONS	127
6.1. <u>REVIEW OF THE STUDY'S FINDINGS</u>	127
6.2. <u>AUDIENCE SIZE</u>	128
6.3. <u>POLICY IMPLICATIONS</u>	130
6.4. <u>PROBLEMS AND LIMITATIONS</u>	132
6.5. <u>IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH</u>	133
APPENDIX A: Questionnaire sample	135
WORKS CITED	141
VITA AUCTORIS	146

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1:	Degree of Cable 11 Viewership	96
Table 2:	Viewership of Cable 11.	101
Table 3:	Exposure to Cable 11 programs for 1990 and 1991	102
Table 4:	Community Involvement by Occupation	105
Table 5:	Community Involvement by Education.	106
Table 6:	Community Channel Viewership by SES	109
Table 7:	Community Identification by Length of Residence	110
Table 8:	Correlations of Community Involvement and Community Identification Variables	112
Table 9:	Community Identification by Community Channel Viewership: Full Sample and Cable Subscribers Only	114
Table 10:	Community Involvement by Community Channel Viewership: Full Sample and Cable Subscribers Only	118
Table 11:	Community Identification and Community Involvement for All and for Cable Subscribers Only.	120
Table 12:	Community Ties by Community Channel Viewership (Cable Only) ..	121
Table 13:	Predicting Community Involvement and Identification	122

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1:	Variables: Community Ties and Community Channel Viewership.	100
-----------	--	-----

Section One:

PROMISE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. INTRODUCTION

Community programming represents a unique and important opportunity for cable licensees to foster the exchange of ideas, raise issues of public concern, and cover events of local interest. . . . The Commission is confident that the community channel will continue to provide a meaningful and valuable contribution to community life.

CRTC Public Notice 1985-151:
Complementary Programming
on the Community Channel

It is known by various names, including 'public access television,' 'cable access television,' and 'community access television,' but is perhaps more commonly known in Canada as simply 'the community channel.' It has been characterized by some as "an extraordinary response . . . to the challenges of a rapidly changing information and media based society" (McLane 1987, 3). Here the viewer finds no car-chase scenes; no canned laughter; no bullet-resistant soldiers of fortune; no hi-tech helicopters; and no wealthy oil executives kidnapped by a long-lost evil twin sibling (coincidentally on the very day they fall victim to amnesia). Instead, what the viewer will find may include local government meetings, senior citizens talking to each other, minor league sports, or Tai Chi demonstrations, with all of these programs displaying noticeably (some might say painfully) sub-professional production values. An "extraordinary response" to some; just plain boring to others. Community channel regulators and supporters respond to such criticism as the parent to the child who is gazing apprehensively at a bowl of lumpy oatmeal, by explaining: "It may not look like much, but it's good for you." Fortunately for the parent, nutritional research exists

to appease the skeptical child. Unfortunately for its regulators and supporters, no similar research exists for community access cable television.

The community channel's humble beginnings can be traced back to the late 1960s and early 1970s. It has often been characterized as a product of that era's social climate of grassroots activism. While this is certainly true, it was also very much a progeny of the era's technological innovations, for it was during this period that the idea of local community-oriented media was infused with fresh possibilities through the introduction of new video/television production and distribution technologies.

One of these technological innovations was in the state of video recording equipment and represented a revolution in itself. Early video technology had been rather unwieldy and expensive; so expensive in fact, that normally only television networks could afford it. That all changed in the late 1960s when Sony and other Japanese electronics companies introduced the 'porta-pak': a generation of video recording equipment which, aside from being considerably less expensive than its predecessors, was also much more light-weight, portable, and simpler to use, making it possible for a single person to perform the tasks of a 'production unit.' As improvements came along, portable video became standard equipment for TV news (Shamberg 1971, 5m¹; Barnouw 1990, 500).

The other significant technological contribution came from cable television, which, although not a new technology, was just then beginning to make its presence felt across most of North America. Because it offered increased channel capacity and, thus, the ability to

¹ Since Shamberg's book is divided into two separately numbered sections which the author refers to as the "Meta-manual" and the "Manual," I will affix the letter "m" to page numbers referring to the "Manual" section.

provide more specialized programming fare of interest to specific audiences, cable television presented itself as a natural outlet for the burgeoning grassroots video movement.

It was also during this same time period that community programming on cable television, the offspring of this social-technological coupling, received a nurturing hand in the form of legislative and regulatory guidance (Mitchell 1974, 3). Partly in response to the potential impact of cable distribution systems on Canadian broadcasters, the Parliament of Canada enacted new broadcast legislation in the form of the Broadcast Act of 1968. In addition to creating a new category of licence to bring cable television systems within the domain of broadcasting regulation, the new Act also created a new regulatory agency--the Canadian Radio-Television Commission² (CRTC). It was the CRTC's task to oversee the development of cable television in Canada as part of its overall mandate for the "regulation and supervision of the Canadian broadcasting system" (Canada 1968, 3).

The CRTC initially adopted a "hands-off" regulatory approach to the development of community programming in the hope that this would encourage experimentation with this aspect of cable television (CRTC 1975a, 1). However, since 1975 the Commission has enacted regulations which require that Canadian cable licensees provide a channel for local community programming as part of their basic service (i.e., somewhere among cable channels 2 to 13). This requirement is designed to ensure that cable licensees give something back to the community for the privilege of holding a monopoly on cable distribution for a given area: a kind of social 'dividend' (Canada 1986, 495).

² Now known as the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission. Its name was changed in 1975 to reflect the Commission's added telecommunications mandate.

Through the coalescence of these three elements--the social, the technological, and the regulatory--community access programming on cable television has emerged as a feature of the media landscape (Mitchell 1974, 3): albeit a feature that is often dwarfed by the presence of national and international networks, swept out of sight by the flood of cable channels, and, as a result of often limited technical and financial resources, is left to compete for a fickle public's acceptance with a relatively unpolished and, some would say, amateurish product.

But the story of community access television is by no means complete. Recent years have witnessed the impact of home video technology, from the videotaping of the Rodney King beating, to the San Francisco earthquake of 1990, and such prime time television programs as "America's Funniest Home Videos." It seems that no major catastrophes, scandals, or scoops can occur these days without being chronicled on amateur home video footage. And at the time of this writing, the CBC is about to launch a new 'television vérité' program of its own called "Road Movies," which is based on the concept of eight young people travelling various parts of the country and documenting, on video, their life experiences as they see them. With the rest of the television world incorporating 'hand-held' reality, the gap between it and community access programming may be decreasing quickly.

1.2. HISTORY OF CABLE TELEVISION AND COMMUNITY PROGRAMMING IN CANADA

Cable television was originally conceived not as a means of originating local programming, but as a means of distributing broadcast television signals. Most of the pioneering efforts with cable television in Canada and the United States occurred in places where clear reception of early television signals was impeded either because of distance from existing transmitters or because of mountainous terrain where ridges would interfere with the

signal (Easton 1977, 3; 1980, 47; 71). In the late 1940s and early 1950s, Canadian communities in the most southerly areas of Ontario were able to pick up television transmissions from American stations just across the border in cities such as Buffalo, Cleveland, and Detroit, while in southern British Columbia the same situation existed with television broadcasts from Seattle. Since Canadian television stations did not take to the airwaves until 1952, these American broadcasts were the first television signals available in Canada, and their presence, even if faint in some places, induced some residents in these communities to begin buying television sets. They also induced some pioneering entrepreneurs living in communities just beyond the limits of normal household reception to explore ways of improving the reception of these distant American signals (Easton 1980, 71; 93).

To receive distant television signals or to improve reception, cable pioneers erected powerful antennas on top of the area's highest ridge or tower which would provide clear reception from the nearest television station. The signal from this antenna was then amplified and distributed via cable wiring to homes or businesses in the community; hence the term "community antenna television," or CATV for short. Usually some sort of installation or subscription fee was involved (Easton 1980, 47; 52-53; 75; Janes 1987, 15). The fact that some of these first cable operators also ran electronic appliance stores, or were otherwise associated with the sale of television sets, was no doubt an extra motivating factor in their cable experiments. In fact some of the first cable systems were set up so that the appliance store owners could take advantage of the clear picture when demonstrating their television sets to customers (Easton 1980, 47-48; 50).

In the United States, cable was initially a small town and rural development; a consequence both of the FCC's freeze on issuing television broadcasting licenses from 1948 to 1952, and the economic exigencies of the early broadcasting industry, which dictated that transmitters were built first for the largest metropolitan market areas. Even after the licensing freeze was lifted, it was several years before small and mid-sized communities got their own television stations or transmitters (Easton 1980, 46; 54).

The development of cable television in Canada, on the other hand, was initially inspired by the possibility to receive distant American television signals, since these were available before any Canadian stations had begun broadcasting (Easton 1980, 71). Because of this situation, cable in Canada was not confined to small towns and outlying cities, but also found an early market in urban settings. It was in 1952 that Ed Jarman, an electronics hobbyist in London, Ontario, set up a large rhombic antenna in his backyard to receive television signals from Cleveland, Ohio, which was the nearest television source, but whose signals were out of reach of ordinary household antennas³ (Easton 1977, 4). The cable system Jarman initiated with this antenna was a hit with some in the community, but did not really take off until 1959 when Jarman joined in a partnership with Famous Players Corporation, and saw the system jump from 200 subscribers that year to 10,500 in 1962. By 1970 London boasted a cable penetration rate of 82 percent (CRTC 1971a, 4). What Jarman started in his backyard has now evolved into Canadian Cablesystems Ltd., one of the country's largest cable companies. Another cable pioneer in Canada was Fred Welsh, who

³ As Easton explains, both Cleveland and Detroit are about 110 miles from London, so the signals from Cleveland were not actually nearer. But because of the large, oblong diamond-shape of a rhombic antenna and the fact that the long dimension of Jarman's property was oriented towards Cleveland, the antenna picked up the Cleveland stations instead of those transmitting from Detroit (1980, 72-73).

initiated several CATV operations in British Columbia, including Vancouver Television in 1958, which 22 years later became the largest individual cable system in the world (Easton 1980, 91; CRTC 1971a, 5).

There is still some debate over whether London was the first city in Canada to have a cable television system: Some claim this distinction goes to Montreal. Whether or not this claim is valid, it can be said that the cable system operated by Rediffusion Inc. in Montreal was the first cable television system in Canada to incorporate locally originated programming. Initiated in 1949 to distribute radio broadcasts, this closed circuit system was redesigned to offer television signals in anticipation of the CBC's plan to launch Montreal's first television station, CBFT, in September of 1951. When CBFT's debut was delayed by a year, Rediffusion filled the programming void by showing films for its subscribers (predating "First Choice/Premiere Choix" by more than 30 years!). When CBFT finally came to air in September of 1952, Rediffusion carried its signal on one of its two channels, and when not showing movies on the other, carried news and entertainment programs produced in the cable system's own studio. At its peak this system boasted a subscribership of 6,000 (CRTC 1971a, 4; Easton 1980, 66). This cable system was therefore offering local cable programming while both the cable and television broadcasting industries in Canada were still in their embryonic stages. The local programming on the system was discontinued, however, when it was bumped from its channel in order to make room for the city's second TV station, CBMT, which began broadcasting in January of 1954 (CRTC 1971a, 5; Easton 1977, 4; 1980, 55-66).

By the late 1960s, cable television in Canada had grown dramatically. Whereas in 1964 only 215,000 Canadian homes, or four percent, subscribed to cable, these figures grew considerably over the latter half of the decade to over half a million by 1967, and to more

than 920,000 subscriber households in 1969 - an increase of 79 percent in the latter two years alone (Babe 1990, 208).

The closing years of the 1960s, then, were a pivotal time in the development of community access cable television. As noted earlier, locally originated cable programming had been attempted prior to this time, but on a very irregular basis. It was not until 1969 that an abundance of regularly scheduled citizen-produced community programming began to be aired on cable systems around the country (Goldberg 1990, 14).

It is important to note here the distinction between locally programmed community television and community access television. In general, the former is for the community, and is usually produced primarily by cable company staff, while the latter is both for and by the community, where individuals and groups from the community are expected to be involved in the actual programming and decision-making processes, with perhaps varying degrees of technical support and/or prior training from the cable company staff.

This proliferation of community and citizen involvement in local cable TV programming was no doubt a reflection of the times. This was, after all, a period characterized by various forms of popular activism, by movements espousing communal living and "getting back to basics," and by an ethos which rejected institutional structures in favour of grassroots democratization - "Power to the People!". In this environment, a concept which allowed ordinary citizens to get their hands on the means of electronic media production obviously fit in very well. As Goldberg recounts, this and the technological innovations in video equipment meant that "the new community channels quickly became nerve centres for creative, ambitious community members interested in testing the limits and potential of the medium" (1990, 8).

Those interested in using community access cable programming for social change were spurred on by grassroots video experiments such as the National Film Board's "Challenge for Change/Société Nouvelle" project and other community media endeavours. There was much interest expressed in the potential of cable television in this regard through the 1970s. The impact of satellite technology and the subsequent dramatic expansion of cable services in the early 1980s brought renewed interest in cable television and, for some, renewed interest in cable access channels. This was especially so in the United States, where the FCC lacked the power to make the provision of a public access channel a regulatory requirement of cable companies, but where the lure of lucrative metropolitan franchises allowed municipalities to dictate such franchise terms for their communities. In Canada, the CRTC's powers to regulate cable television were more firmly entrenched, and it consistently expressed the view that the provision of a channel for community access programming should remain an important function of the cable industry.

1.2.1. REGULATORY HISTORY OF CABLE AND COMMUNITY ACCESS

For the first 16 years of their existence, cable television systems in Canada were primarily viewed as distribution systems, similar to the 'common carrier' function by which the telephone system operated. Seen in this way, and not as a programming or broadcasting service, cable was placed under the federal regulatory jurisdiction of the Department of Transport.

During this same time period, however, broadcasting undertakings in Canada experienced a completely different and somewhat more variable regulatory history. At the time of its inception, Canadian television broadcasting, like radio before it, was placed under

the regulatory powers then possessed by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, which, through the terms of the 1936 Broadcasting Act, was responsible for licensing and regulating its own member broadcasters as well as its competitors, the private broadcasters; a conflict of interest not lost on the latter! To remedy this situation, the 1958 Broadcasting Act set up a new regulatory body, the Board of Broadcast Governors (BBG), to oversee both the public and private sectors of Canadian broadcasting. A decade later, the 1968 Broadcasting Act replaced the BBG with the Canadian Radio-Television Commission. The CRTC was conceived as a "single independent public authority" to implement the objectives and principles of the 1968 Act, and was given broad powers for the "regulation and supervision of the Canadian broadcasting system" (Canada 1968, 3). Under this Act, cable systems were newly classified as "broadcasting receiving undertakings", effectively bringing them within the broadcasting domain and thus giving the CRTC (and the federal government) exclusive regulatory jurisdiction over this rapidly growing industry (Babe 1990, 208).

From its very inception, the Commission supported the idea of community channels and encouraged cable operators to initiate and experiment with the concept (14). Through the considerable powers given it under the Act, the CRTC began to formulate its own policies governing the operation of community channels. The wording of the Act was sufficiently vague as to allow the CRTC latitude in this regard (176). After an initial period of encouragement and observation, the Commission decided in 1975 to make the community channel a mandatory component of all cable systems and also issued its first comprehensive community channel policy statement.

When it introduced its mandatory carriage regulations in 1975, the CRTC stated that it viewed the community channel as "an important public service" and "a primary social

commitment of the cable television licensee" (CRTC 1975a, 2; 1975c, 3). With the announcement of a new Community Channel Policy on June 5, 1991, the Commission has indicated that it still maintains this view, stating that the community channel should remain "a vital and important component of the broadcasting system" (CRTC 1991a, 2), and that it has, in many cases, "developed into a vibrant and important element within the broadcasting system overall," further reaffirming that the provision of a community channel "remains the cable licensee's principal contribution to the public in exchange for the privilege of holding a cable television licence" (3). Moreover, a new Broadcasting Act, proclaimed on June 4, 1991, recognizes the community sector as one of the three primary sectors of the Canadian broadcasting system, along with the public and the private sectors (Canada 1991, 3).

Therefore, by virtue of the CRTC's cable television policies, the community channel exists as a widely available electronic communications medium which is open to public participation and is designed to meet the communicative needs specific to the local community level: needs which, it is generally held, have not been adequately met, or are incapable of being met, by conventional television structures and practices (Young 1992). As such, community access television represents the most widespread form of alternative media in North America, with close to 300 cable systems in Canada alone providing community programming, and which has the potential to serve over 70 percent of the nation's population (Goldberg 1990, 3; CRTC 1979b, 3; CCTA 1988, i).

1.3. THE COMMUNITY CHANNEL'S MANDATE

Part of the community channel's general mandate derives from the objectives set out in the Broadcasting Act. Mostly, though, the specific nature and goals of the community

channel are shaped by the policies and regulations conceived and implemented by the CRTC under the powers given it through the Act. In its 1991 Community Channel Policy--its most recent expression of the community channel's mandate--the Commission stated that within the overall broadcasting system, the community channel has become "a provider of local information, views and entertainment," and that it "considers that the role of the community channel should be primarily of a public service nature, facilitating self-expression through free and open access by members of the community" (CRTC 1991a, 3). According to the Commission, the channel's programming should "complement that provided by conventional broadcasters" (3). But more than that, it should "strive for innovation in programming concepts and communication methods" (21), and licensees are expected to "seek out innovative and alternative views" (4).

From the very beginning of its supervision of the community channel, the CRTC emphasized the local nature of community channel programming, and its potential as a means of community self-expression. In its Public Notice announcing the most recent community channel policy, the Commission reaffirmed this position by stating that it recognizes the channel's "proven strengths in such areas as the production of telethons, coverage of local and regional sporting events, and other significant endeavours" (CRTC 1991a, 4). The 1991 policy also adds a new dimension to the channel's mandate by emphasizing its role as a supplier of local television programming where none presently exists.

The Commission has also stressed that the term 'community' is not necessarily restricted to a geographical concept; that it may also apply to groups, especially in large urban centres, where a cable licensed area may cut across municipal jurisdictions, neighbourhoods,

etc. In these cases the term "communities of interest" is often used. In other words, the term "community" may be applied demographically as well geographically (Shamberg 1971, 58m).

But the most prominent aspect of the community channel's mandate is its existence as an outlet for members of the community to produce their own television programs and to have them telecast on the local cable system. The provision of access to the television production process has been the pivotal component and the most distinguishing characteristic of community programming on cable television. The CRTC has consistently emphasized this aspect of the community channel's mandate and reaffirmed this view in the 1991 policy statement when it declared that citizen participation in programming is "the cornerstone of the community channel," and that "the ability of community programming to turn the passive viewer of television into an active participant" remains the primary distinguishing feature of the community channel (CRTC 1991a, 20).

Community access to the medium of television is important because it attempts to realign the medium's decision-making and power structures to the community level. In conventional television arrangements decision-making power is centralized and programming most often flows unidirectionally from the centre to the periphery, with virtually no room for real community or citizen feedback or input. In contrast, community access television is designed precisely to allow citizens or community groups not only to make decisions and exercise control over programming, but to be the programming. The community channel can be seen as a resource for community dialogue, in contrast to commercial television's monologue (Goldberg 1990, 6).

1.4. THE PROBLEM

Much has been written about the promise of community access television. One writer identified four potential benefits which community access television should provide for a community: it should 1) provide an information service not available through existing media; 2) develop a regular audience; 3) "contribute to citizen involvement in community affairs"; and, 4) allow audience members to actively participate in programming (Jankowski 1982, 37-38).

Yet, despite the fact that such an alternative communications medium exists and is potentially able to offer such benefits, one of the recurring criticisms of community access programming, in Canada and elsewhere, has been its apparent inability to attract much of an audience. The Commission itself has recognized this situation (1975a, 14), as have others writing on this topic (McLane 1987; Janes 1985; 1987; Bretz 1975, as cited by Fuller 1990). This weakness obviously raises questions regarding the viability of community access programming. Primarily, one must wonder how community channel programming can truly claim to benefit the community if nobody is watching the programs.

However, it is difficult to properly address this question since data concerning community access television viewership is almost non-existent (Janes 1987, 22; Fuller 1990, 304). Janes points to this fact in a 1987 article on the history of public access television in the United States, when he advises that

the audience for public access programming must be considered. . . . Very little data is available concerning actual viewership of the access channel. Who, if anyone, is watching this programming? It remains unclear whether the public access channel is attracting any audience and truly living up to expectations (Janes 1987, 22).

While a few American academic studies have been conducted to assess levels of viewership, their findings have been far from consistent. Some studies report local access

viewership to be somewhere around three to five percent of those surveyed (Bretz 1975, as cited in Fuller 1990, 304; Kellner 1990, 209), while others have reported it to be as high as 45 percent (Fuller 1990, 307). Moreover, these studies' conclusions regarding the state of community access television in the U.S. range from the rosy assessments which claim that "public access is a high priority for many viewers" (Kellner 1990, 224) or that it is "an important and widely used communication tool in the community" (Oringel and Buske 1987, 162), to the more sober evaluation that "it is unclear whether the public access channel is living up to expectations established by public policy" (Janes 1985, 8).

Some Canadian sources have reported assessments of community channel viewership, but these have mostly been based on informal data collection methods. A 1972 CRTC survey of cable operators, for instance, described the "lack of a strong community response to programming, which is reported by cable operators in many areas" (CRTC 1972, 39). Another CRTC survey in 1978 indicated that 80 percent of cable operators reported an increase in community channel viewership between 1972 and 1978, but no actual viewership figures were given (CRTC 1979b, 21). In 1974, the president of a Quebec cable company with franchises in several communities reported that 63 percent of subscribers surveyed watched the channel at least twice a week, although this mail survey was based on a small number of replies representing only a 50 percent return rate (CRTC 1974, 45).

There have been some commercial sector surveys conducted. For instance, a rather exhaustive study of viewers of Rogers Cable 10 in Toronto found that the channel consistently outdrew the available TVOntario channel. However, the cost of conducting such studies is a prohibitive factor for many cable operators, especially the smaller systems (Ross Milne, personal interview, September 1, 1992).

In October of 1987 a community channel survey was conducted by the Canadian Cable Television Association. This survey was administered nationwide to community channel Program Directors (except in Quebec where the regional cable association had conducted its own survey nine months earlier: The results were included with the CCTA report where possible), and cited a then recent report by A. C. Nielsen Company of Canada Limited which indicated that 665,000 households were tuned in to the community channel during one week in March of 1987 (CCTA 1988, iii). A regional breakdown of viewership based on the same A.C. Nielsen figures showed the Atlantic region and B.C. having the smallest viewership tallies, with eight percent and 11 percent of subscribers respectively, while the Prairies had 18 percent, Ontario 24 percent, and Quebec had the highest viewership with 39 percent (CCTA 1988, 36). In 1990, Goldberg reported that in Canada "the number of people actually watching and using [the community channel] has skyrocketed since the early days," but again this assessment was based only on informal surveys or unsolicited telephone and mail feedback (Goldberg 1990, 28).

The level of community channel viewership and the impact of access programming upon its viewership should be important measures of whether the channel is in fact living up to its billing as a valuable media resource for the community. The lack of such data on community access viewership must inevitably haunt the assumptions underlying the CRTC's community channel policies. If community channel viewership is as insignificant as many assume it to be, what are the implications concerning the viability of community access programming and, by extension, the rationale underlying the CRTC's regulations and policies designed to maintain the community channel as a "vital and important component of the broadcasting system"? And if, on the other hand, significant numbers of cable subscribers

are actually tuning in to the community channel, exactly what kind of impact is this programming having on its audience?

1.5. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to provide data in order to examine some of the assumptions implicit in the CRTC's policies and regulations which make the community channel a federally mandated component of the Canadian broadcasting system. Among those assumptions are: 1) that there exists a significant (actual or potential) viewership of community channel programming; and, 2) that the viewers and/or the community benefit somehow from this programming. Specifically, it will examine whether or not the community channel is effectively fulfilling its mandate for the community of Windsor.

A useful framework for assessing the viability of community access television is found in Jankowski's 1982 study, where appraisal of the medium is approached not only from the performance level (i.e., whether or not it reaches its intended audience), but also from the policy level, the management level, and the programming level (Jankowski 1982, 36-37). Since such a comprehensive assessment is somewhat beyond the scope of this study, an examination of Windsor's community channel will be approached primarily from the following perspectives:

- 1) The policy intentions of the CRTC (both stated and implicit) with specific emphasis on community channel audience considerations; and,
- 2) the extent and nature of viewership for the community channel, and the impact its programming has upon the audience.

As a test case of the community channel's role, it will be of interest to examine the potential function of community channel programming--specifically, local news and current affairs programming--in the wake of the CBC's December 1990 decision to eliminate news programming from its Windsor station, CBET, which deprived Windsor of its primary local television service.

This study is also timely in light of recent events at the federal level, including the CBC cut-backs and the CRTC's recent modifications to its community channel policy. The federal government recently enacted its long-awaited broadcast legislation revising the 1968 Broadcasting Act. The 1991 Act specifically states that the community sector is to be considered a primary element of the Canadian broadcasting system, along with the public and private sectors.

1.6. ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

The thesis is organized under two major sections. The first section, titled "Promise," focuses on the origins and history of community access television in Canada and the concurrent development of the CRTC's policies and regulations pertaining to the community channel. It also discusses the theoretical claims and philosophical bases of community access television in general, as well as the methodological approach of the study.

The first section is divided into four chapters. The next chapter, Chapter Two, contains the literature review. It begins by reviewing the origins of community access television in Canada, discussing early experiments with community video, and examines early and recent writings on the promise and potential of community access television as a democratic, grassroots medium for community expression. It also provides a discussion of

the theoretical basis and relevance of community access cable television to the issue of information flow in a mass mediated society.

Chapter Three provides a review and analysis of pertinent CRTC policies and regulations governing the community channel and the rationale behind them as well as a review of academic literature and empirical studies dealing with community media use and community ties. The chapter concludes by stating the hypotheses for the study.

Chapter Four outlines the methodological approach and strategies employed in the thesis. This includes a discussion of data collection methods, conceptual definitions, questionnaire design, sample selection, and administration of the telephone surveys. The methods for analyses of the data are also discussed.

The second section, "Performance," is divided into two chapters. Chapter Five presents and discusses the findings from the analyses of the audience survey data, while Chapter Six presents the major conclusions of the study.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. INTRODUCTION

A review of the pertinent literature for this study necessarily touches upon several areas. This chapter will provide an overview of the literature which has a direct bearing on the issue of community access cable television.

First, we will embark upon an overview of early and recent writings dealing with the promise of cable television and its impact on the media environment, followed by a similar review of literature from the 1970s and 1980s dealing specifically with cable access television and its potential as a community-oriented medium providing access to television production. We will then review the literature dealing with theoretical considerations of citizen access to the mass media, and in particular, with community access television in terms of: 1) its relationship to existing television structures, and 2) its relevance to the issue of information flow in a mass mediated society.

2.2. THE PROMISE OF CABLE TELEVISION

Much has been written over the past 20 years or so about the potential uses and benefits of cable communications technology and its impact on society. The excitement surrounding the initial growth of cable television was largely due to the increased channel capacity made possible through the use of co-axial cable for distributing television signals, as well as the cable's potential to carry two-way, interactive messages and other communication services. While early cable systems offered a handful of extra channels, more

recent systems may offer over 100 channels as well as the possibility of other communication services through the integration of satellite, fibre optic, and computer technologies.

2.2.1. THE PROMISE OF CABLE TELEVISION IN THE 1970s

Cable television can give us back our neighborhoods.

Mike Wallace

To most observers in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the most promising aspect of cable television technology was its multi-channel capacity, or, as it has sometimes been called, its "technology of abundance." (Tate 1971, 4; Mayer 1973, 14; Roman 1983, 57). This, of course, was a promising development in comparison with the limitations inherent in broadcast television's reliance on the scarce electromagnetic spectrum. The technology of cable distribution was seen by some as a television programming godsend, because if certain types of programming formats, such as arts programs, were being neglected by broadcast television only because of the scarcity of channels, then a place could be made for this type of programming on multi-channel cable systems (Mayer 1973, 14). With so many channels available, programming could become more specialized and be designed to appeal to smaller audiences with specialized interests, a scenario which some claimed would be similar to magazine subscribership (Shamberg 1971, 76m). Cable was heralded for its promise to offer more variety and diversity in programming which would be more responsive to the viewer's needs and desires (Ledbetter 1971, 13).

Instead of being "national in scope . . . [where] programs that regularly reach a paltry 5 million viewers will likely be dropped on account of poor ratings," cable promised a

different market orientation based on each system's local service area (Carpenter-Huffman et al. 1974, 7). Cable television was thus characterized as a revolution in media technology which, through its ability to serve local communities and even neighbourhoods, was reversing the historical trend towards larger and increasingly concentrated media and, as such, held great potential for organization at the community level (Carpenter-Huffman et al. 1974, 7; Pool 1973, 2; 245; Anderson 1975, 66).

Moreover, there were several direct political spin-offs prophesied from the technology of cable television and its potential to accommodate the "pluralism of human interests" (Knox 1973, 105). The abundance of channels, for instance, was advanced as a feature of cable systems inherently favourable towards pluralism and decentralized decision-making in the model of the "Jeffersonian ideal" (Pool, 245).

Some saw cable's greatest potential in its ability to carry messages both ways along the cable. That is, the cable connection would not only allow subscribers to receive a wider range of programming services, but would allow people at home, or at the office, to send information as well. Proponents of this concept in the 1970s envisioned such computer-monitored cable services as home meter reading, home security systems, home shopping and banking, and instant access to a variety of information and data retrieval systems (Shamberg 1971, 76m-77m; Hollander 1985, 6). Not only would this be possible within a single cabled area, but, through the interconnection of cable systems by microwave relay, would result in a "wired nation": A network of interlinked home and office communication and information technologies offering a wide range of services from home-shopping and schooling to minor medical and repair services (Shamberg, 77m; Ledbetter 1971, 13).

One of the major implications of interactive cable technology was its potential use as a means of direct electronic feedback from subscribers; not only for such things as marketing surveys and audience data, but as a forum for electronic home-based voting on various local, or even national issues: a means of achieving direct democracy through video voting⁴ (Hollander 1985, 2-3; 53; Carpenter-Huffman et al. 1974, 89).

While the promise of two-way broadband cable technology had its champions, it also had its detractors. Pool, for instance, characterized such futuristic home communication systems as a "science-fiction fantasy" which would be cost-prohibitive (at least by 1973 technological standards) (Pool 1973, 3), and debunked schemes involving "casual push-button voting" as being impractical:

War could be declared on Monday, cancelled on Tuesday, and declared again on Wednesday, depending not only on which demagogue was most effective but also on who happened to be home and was not tired of politics from last night's session (237).

Aside from the potential (whether positive or negative) of interactive cable service, and cable's capability to deliver a greater variety of special interest channels, one of the greatest advantages of cable television was seen in its potential as a medium for community expression. "The most striking political effect of CATV," wrote Pool and Alexander in 1973, "will be to make television an economic medium for reaching small subcommunities," and that this "will undoubtedly accelerate the development of community consciousness and community organization," with the overall effect of cable television possibly being the "localization" of politics (83).

⁴ A similar notion was being proposed by one of the candidates in the 1992 American presidential race--H. Ross Perot.

2.2.2. CABLE TELEVISION IN THE 1980s

Cable television in the late 1970s and early 1980s witnessed a dramatic expansion of satellite-to-cable and pay-TV services. While cable service in the United States initially grew out of the desire to receive broadcast programming in rural areas, the attractive entertainment packages offered by satellite delivered pay-TV channels proved to be just what American cable operators needed to crack their larger metropolitan markets where cable penetration had been traditionally low (Baldwin & McVoy 1983, 5; Roman 1983, ix). In Canada, however, geographical factors and the Canadian appetite for American television programming had stimulated the nation to be wired for cable more extensively and earlier than the United States (Collins & Litman 1984, 104-105). Cable in Canada began in urban markets and gradually spread to rural areas. Unlike the American pay-TV cable expansion, the Canadian cable industry had relied almost exclusively on the sale of its basic service to make Canada the most-cabled country in the world up to 1985, reaching almost two-thirds of the nation's households (Canada 1986, 551).

Whereas cable penetration in the United States between 1976 and 1983 increased by 111 percent, from 17 percent to 36 percent, the penetration rate in Canada for the same time period, although higher overall, rose by only 37 percent (Collins & Litman 104). Between 1983 and 1990, Canadian cable penetration increased another 16 percent, nearing three-quarters of all television households, while in the United States it increased a further 66 percent, to almost two-thirds of all households (Television Bureau of Canada 1992, 3; Kellner 1990, 217).

The introduction of pay-TV into Canada in 1983, then, did not have the same dramatic effect on the Canadian cable industry as it had in the United States, where, according to the

above figures, cable penetration increased at a rate three to four times as fast. While it must be recognized that perhaps both countries, and Canada in particular, were beginning to reach the cable saturation point, with the much slower growth in Canada reflecting the higher initial penetration rate, these figures nonetheless demonstrate the overall expansion of the North American cable industry in the 1980s.

As was the case with the first phase of cable's growth in the 1970s, this new satellite-fuelled expansion of the cable industry prompted many industry observers to once again comment on the impact of cable television, and to speculate on its potential for the future. One American observer, writing in 1980, stated that by that year "many of the 'blue sky' promises of cable TV a decade ago had become reality or were on the horizon" thanks to the growth of satellite delivery and pay-TV, and that the impact of these services meant that cable had "come of age as a major delivery system to the home" (Hollowell 1980, ix).

The further increase in channels and the potential for on-demand programming was cause for some to suggest that cable could "raise the general level of television and make a place for the highest levels of entertainment and information for those who demand it," and predict that cable television would become a non-passive, or at least a less passive medium (Baldwin & McVoy, 354). Cable's promise was also seen in terms of its potential to "loosen the hold of the networks and their affiliates and open television to new talent and fresh ideas" and "to serve a broader purpose with its variety of formats" (Baldwin & McVoy, 6; 355).

Others viewed the impact of the new technologies in the 1980s as a much more significant development. Using rhetoric reminiscent of the predictions from the 1970s, Roman, writing in 1983, predicted that

cable television . . . will have a more profound effect on our culture than all the technology that preceded it. . . . [It] will not only alter the leisure activities of the

American public but will also transform the traditional American work ethic (Roman 1983, ix).

In his 1988 examination of the impact satellite and other communications technologies were having in Canada, Strick was speaking of their "profound influence on society" in the present tense (Strick 1988, 263). With new developments such as fibre optics, digital technology and computers making possible the integration of video, voice and data services, Strick noted that these innovations have placed "the entire communications industry in a state of transition and have created a whole new world of communications" (Strick 1988, 278; 270).

These technological innovations also had an impact on the world of interactive cable services in the 1980s, although some were saying that the market for two-way cable had not developed in line with "the wild predictions of the late 1970s" (Hollander 1985, 6). Others cautioned that while these new developments were exciting, their impact would be peripheral at best and that any changes they brought would develop more slowly than most projected (Baldwin & McVoy 1983, 318).

However, others still saw a bright future for interactive cable television. Hollander, for instance, was of the opinion in 1985 that direct electronic democracy--video voting--was still a practical goal, but only if limited to small communities (Hollander 1985, 34). Others also saw great potential on the technological horizon, especially in the integration of computers, telecommunications and office automation, and in the fact that cable companies were beginning to offer such non-programming services as electronic shopping and home security systems, thus perhaps realizing some of the 1970s forecasts (Strick 270-271; 279).

There were also those who saw the development of these new applications--especially the integration of cable and home computer technologies--as a promising means of increasing

the private citizen's access to information sources, especially local sources. Baldwin and McVoy saw this as a way to bring the resources of the public library into the home:

This could bring local government, institutions, and people closer together. A better identification with the immediate community may enhance community pride and reduce alienation (Baldwin & McVoy, 355).

From this perspective, the integration of these technologies was viewed as a prospect for a more convenient and expanded system of citizen access to information, with social benefits at the community level. In terms of access to the mass media themselves, moreover, the expanded channel capacity of satellite-to-cable systems, like the earlier cable television systems of the 1970s, was seen as a development which promised greater opportunities for cable access programming as well (Rice 1980, 101).

2.3. THE PROMISE OF CABLE ACCESS CHANNELS

People must attempt to control not only the circumstances that affect their lives, but also the media which interpret and make public those circumstances.

Linda Mitchell, "A Survey of Activities"
in A Resource for the Active Community, 1974

Instead of trying to improve communication between citizens/consumers and the political/information system, as interactive cable systems promised, cable access television tries to enhance communication between the individual and the community, or among the citizens of the community themselves. This represents as much a shift in media philosophy as it does a new application of a communications technology. The philosophy behind cable access television derived much of its early impetus from those who were experimenting with the use of film and video for the purpose of social change and community action.

2.3.1. ANTECEDENTS TO CABLE ACCESS: COMMUNITY VIDEO EXPERIMENTS

Some of the earliest projects in Canada which attempted to use portable video technology for the purpose of social change at the community level were associated with the National Film Board of Canada's program known as "Challenge for Change/Société Nouvelle." Probably the most oft-cited of these projects was an experiment in the use of videotape which took place in the tiny, isolated community of Fogo Island, Newfoundland in 1970. The aim of the experiment was to use videotape recording and playback to try to induce greater community participation and development by fostering communication among the residents of the community (Mitchell 1974, 3).

The strategy of the project was to videotape the daily interactions of the island's citizenry (such as community meetings, etc), and then play the tape back to the participants in order that they might obtain a different perspective on their own circumstances and activities (Mitchell 1974, 3; Low 1974, 21). The producers allowed the subjects to have input in the presentation of the footage, including involvement in editing decisions and other matters which normally are out of the subjects' control. Allowing the subjects to become active in the process in this way would, it was hoped, bring about a change of perception among members of the community and lead to the desired social change (Gwyn 1983, 315).

The Fogo Island experiment was touted as a great success. According to one writer, the use of video in this way resulted in "immediate and enormous" benefits; an abrupt turnaround in the morale and spirit of the community, which had been suffering from a high welfare rate and the spectre of possible government-initiated relocation. Fogo became "a touchstone, a focal point for all people involved in community communications" and was

heralded as "proof that social change could and did happen through the use of images and participation" (Mitchell, 3).

The Fogo Island experiment thus provided something of an impetus to the many community-oriented, grassroots video efforts which were beginning to grow throughout Canada and the United States during this period. The principles behind the use of video in the Fogo Island project were accordingly prescribed to by others involved in the video movement (Gwyn, 314; 317). According to some, the process of videotaping the interactions of a group could be used to alter group dynamics, because of its ability to:

- objectify the situation;
- legitimize an event;⁵
- support group interaction and understanding;
- help to structure confrontation;
- provide a means for community action, and;
- restate and summarize an action (Anderson 1975, 21-22).

Anderson cites the use of videotape in the case of "The Wounded Knee Dispatch," a videotape made by Native American and non-native activists to document the occupation of Wounded Knee, South Dakota by the members of American Indian Movement (AIM) in March of 1973. The videotape explored the incident much more thoroughly than the mainstream media could, and was therefore able to delve into aspects of the story which were "largely ignored" by the mass media networks (Anderson, 36-38).

Of course, no matter how enlightening, revealing, or educational the use of videotape in these ways may have been, any benefits the medium may have offered were necessarily limited in the absence of a wide-ranging distribution system. With the marriage of portable

⁵ The May, 1992 acquittal of four Los Angeles police officers in the videotaped beating of Rodney King is interesting in this regard, as it would suggest that simply capturing the beating on videotape did not necessarily "legitimize" or "objectify" the event in the eyes of the jury. This would seem to suggest that subjective factors still come into play.

videotape and cable television technologies, however, it would be possible to spread the 'magic' of grassroots video in a much more efficient way.

2.3.2. THE PROMISE OF CABLE ACCESS IN THE 1970s

The increased channel capacity of cable systems in the late 1960s and early 1970s meant for some the possibility that one or more channels could be allotted for the programming initiatives of small, interest-oriented groups (Pool 1973, 4). This was a very promising development for those who were interested in progressive social change and the use of video for societal and institutional reform at the grassroots level. As Charles Tate noted in 1971: "Because of the number of channels, the viewing public can dictate not only the style and type of programming it wants, but can actually produce and participate in that programming," adding that "the potential for nonentertainment [sic] programming is almost limitless" (Tate, 4). At least one writer even went so far as to suggest that the abundance of cable channels could best be put to use by allowing all those with vested interests in broadcasting to program their own channel, with the broadcast networks getting one channel, the government getting another, the advertisers getting theirs, etc., which would then allow the cable operators to "open up the other thirty-seven to the people themselves" (Shamberg 1971, 9m). (Naturally, this particular idea did not find much support within the cable, broadcast, or advertising industries).

Those writing in the 1970s on the promise of cable access channels tended to focus on forecasting how society would be changed through the introduction of cable television systems, and often reflected an advocacy stance, explaining how the new systems could and

should be used for various purposes. One author outlined the goals of community programming as follows:

- media de-mythification;
- acting as catalytic agents in the community;
- improving a group's visibility;
- being a means of localized, personal expression, and;
- being an archive of local history, events and culture (Anderson, 1975, 157).

Some writers focused on cable's potential for serving minority communities, particularly in the context of urban planning. For instance, in anticipation of cable's extension into the inner cities, some minority community organizers were projecting various ways in which cable systems could enhance community development, but only if the systems were set up so that ownership and control rested with the community itself (Tate, 18). According to Tate, this "revolution in electronic communications systems" could provide "a local, people-oriented television and radio system that is responsive to and reflective of the differences in culture, language, history, experience, and race," and, moreover, could eventually serve as "an effective communications link between people of all nations, races and cultures" (Tate 1971, 3).

These projections of cable's impact on North American society--or, indeed, as in the case of the last passage, on the entire world--were echoed throughout other writings from this period as well. In his 1975 book, Video Power: Grass Roots Television, Anderson suggested the possibility that "in the hands of the people, [television] can move communities toward significant social action" (1975, 11); in 1971, Shamberg told us that "using the media as tools in-and-of themselves (not for political propaganda) can lever enormous social change" (Shamberg 1971, 1); and the preface to one volume of a major cable television study undertaken by the Rand Corporation in 1974 stated that cable TV "is on the brink of turning

into a genuine urban communication system, with profound implications for our entire society" (Carpenter-Huffman et al. 1974, v). Another writer speculated that "cable could effect almost every type of social pattern in existence," and envisioned its potential in creating a better-educated society with a "newly sophisticated electorate" spearheading a rejuvenation of the political system (Ledbetter 1971, 13).

It is not surprising that such discussions of access to cable television programming led commentators of the day to extol the virtues of the medium for its potential impact in the realm of politics. The concept of citizen-produced television programming was quickly embraced as a natural corollary to grassroots political action. In fact, the German essayist Enzensberger suggested that access to the electronic media by ordinary citizens could act as a catalyst for a socialist revolution (Jankowski 1982, 35).

One of the virtues frequently attributed to cable access television was its potential for enhancing political participation and facilitating community dialogue on the issues of the day (Pool and Alexander 1973, 78). As Anderson noted, cable represented "the means to make participatory democracy a working reality" (Anderson 1975, 101). This led some to the analogy of the old-time New England Town Hall meetings, where each and every citizen could take part and have their say in the political process (Anderson, 11-13). Considering the socio-political climate of the time--the Vietnam War/Watergate era in the United States, and the F.L.Q. crisis and the implementation of the War Measures Act in Canada--it is certainly understandable how the prospect of using television to get back to a citizen-oriented model of participatory democracy was so appealing.

Access, for some, was not simply seen as a step on the road to reforming political processes and institutions, but was treated as a more subtle and profound process unto itself,

valued for both the individual and the collective psychological benefits it could offer. Knox observed in 1973 that since "individual alienation and social deterioration in large cities are both primarily related to communication needs," a system which would provide more channels and allow access on the users' terms could help to reinforce the self-esteem of groups which had been ignored or marginalized by the mainstream media (Knox 1973, 105; 108). Similarly, Pool saw the use of cable technology as a way to "reverse the trend toward uniformity in communication and thereby help close the gap in alienation" (Pool 1973, 2). This sense of alienation resulting from inadequate communication systems could also manifest itself socially and politically, according to Knox, if the level of frustration among those who were being left out of the process increased to the point where it could undermine the legitimacy of government and authority (Knox, 104). And, even if gaining access to television does not quite solve such large scale problems as social and political malaise, it is beneficial nonetheless, according to Martin Mayer, because "more people will get a chance to earn the privilege . . . of being taken seriously" (Mayer 1973, 22).

Shamberg's perspective on grassroots initiatives in the use of video and cable television was perhaps the "heaviest"--to use the vernacular of the time, which permeates his 1971 book, Guerrilla Television. Shamberg's analysis drew upon elements of information theory to provide insight into the fundamental cultural implications of citizen access to television programming. Characterizing our media processes as "cultural DNA" (Shamberg 1971, 7), he pointed out that "survival in an information environment demands information tools." (8m) and that "growing up in America on television is like learning how to read but being denied the chance to write" (21).

Using considerable dosages of Aquarian Age radical aplomb (e.g., a chapter in his book is titled "The Epistemology of Dope"), Shamberg observed: "It may be that unless we re-design our television structure our own capacity to survive as a species may be diminished" (9). He thus viewed access to media production as being nothing short of crucial to the evolution of a society in which daily survival is based on information processing skills conditioned by electronic media, and where the institutions designed to teach survival (i.e., schools and universities) are still using "information processing modes . . . based on print" (1). "And that's heavy," as Shamberg put it, because "a culture with sanctioned education processes which are out-of-phase with the life-process can't last very long" (1). Shamberg's prescription for this diseased media culture he referred to as "Media-America," was the development of a "grassroots network of indigenous media activity":

Translated into TV this means many different types of programming made by many different types of people. As only people themselves ultimately know how they feel, they must have access to television tools without mediators (9m).

And to deliver the media medicine, Shamberg saw potential in the "techno-evolution" of portable videotape and cable television technologies through which he hoped a "media-ecological balance" could be restored to television (9).

Other writers saw the potential of cable access channels in similar and (if possible) even more colourful ways. For instance, Anderson proclaimed the promise of the new medium in terms which seem to suggest some kind of technological messiah:

It is entirely possible that people who make their own television can be a channel and source for the life force that is common to all humanity. Grass roots television can break down arbitrarily established boundaries and be emitters of energy on many levels and bandwidths in the international language of visual imagery. We have the ability to control our own technology and learn of our own life sources. In short, a person with a portable video system can be a Homer to a greening America (Anderson, 117).

However, amid such proclamations that grassroots programming could be a social and even spiritual panacea for the human race, can also be found more pragmatic evaluations of the medium's potential impact on society. Former FCC Commissioner Nicholas Johnson provided something of a more down-to-Earth perspective:

The thing you should really keep your focus on is communications as power. . . . I mean, that's how you measure power today. More than armies or money or anything else. It is access to information and control of the mass communications. . . . That's what it's all about (cited in Anderson 1975, 22-23).

2.3.3. CABLE ACCESS CHANNELS IN THE 1980s

From the vantage point of the 1980s, it was possible to look back at the conception of cable access channels the decade before and assess the development of the medium up to that time. For instance, Baldwin and McVoy gave this 1983 evaluation of the state of American access channels:

Perhaps somewhat romantically, public access channels on cable were conceived as an opportunity to provide free expression to any individual. In the abundance of cable channels, one or more set aside for this purpose, on a trial basis, seemed to have merit. Most of the access channels . . . went unused. . . . But in a few places, the public access channel took hold to become a vital and diversified communication channel for the community (Baldwin & McVoy 1983, 94-95).

In 1979, a decision by the United States Supreme Court overruled the FCC's mandatory carriage provisions for public access channels. Yet still, public access in the United States did not disappear; it actually continued to grow thanks to the fact that municipal authorities jumped in to fill the regulatory void (Kellner 1990, 188; Janes 1987, 17). A U.S. survey by the National Cable Television Association (NCTA) showed that between 1978 and 1980, the number of public access channels offered by American cable systems increased by

80 percent, from 566 to 1,018 (Roman 1983, 88). And the growth of access continued during the 1980s (Kellner, 208; Janes 1987, 17; Davitian 1987, 36).

There are probably a number of reasons for this growth. Certainly the scramble for lucrative cable franchises in the large American metropolitan markets put licence-granting municipalities in a very advantageous position from which to negotiate terms for public access facilities (Janes 1987, 19). The competition for franchises was such that the winners were often those who promised the most (Baldwin and McVoy 1983, 4). Another factor may have been cable operators beginning to realize that the programming expertise generated from access channels was a key to the lucrative world of pay-TV programming (Canadian Broadcasting and Telecommunications: Past Experience, Future Options 1980, 55).

In Canada, however, the access story in the 1980s was a bit different. Since 1975, the CRTC had exercised its authority to implement mandatory community channel carriage rules, making it a compulsory feature of basic cable service (CRTC 1975b, 3; Goldberg 1990, 3). When pay-TV was introduced into Canada in 1983, it was allocated to a discretionary tier of cable service, available at a cost to subscribers over and above the cost of the basic package (Goldberg 1990, 2; Collins & Litman 1984, 101). Because of this discretionary arrangement, then, and unlike the situation in the United States, the introduction of pay-TV in Canada had no potential to increase the number of access channels available on Canadian cable systems. However, because of the CRTC's mandatory carriage regulations, the existence cable access channels was ensured, and not left up to franchise negotiations between cable companies and local authorities.

According to many accounts, access channels in the 1980s successfully found a niche as outlets for the kind of diverse and creative programming that viewers could not get from

mainstream, commercial television. The community access channel, it was argued, "may be one of the few places in which novel ideas may be introduced into the marketplace of ideas" (Baldwin & McVoy 1983, 95), and where the "most innovative television" could be found (Davitian 1987, 35). "Dismissed by some as flakey, fragmented, and frivolous, community access can be all those things," Betsy McLane admitted in 1987, but was quick to add: "It can also be the most serious television in the country" (McLane 1987, 3).

In its thousands of hours of programming lie regional definitions of place, inquiries into the individual's relationship with television technology, close-up visions of local political processes, quirky personal statements, explorations of television as an artistic medium, and a call to individual empowerment through mass media (McLane 1987, 3).

To some, the purpose of public access was "to make television more creative, diverse, human and personal, and to continue the successful integration of art, media, and community" (Ann Stonehocker, as cited in Baldwin & McVoy 1983, 96). To others, it was valued as a provider of local news items to urban sub-communities not being served adequately by large metropolitan media outlets, whose news coverage must cater to the wider metro audience (Baldwin & McVoy, 105). The Canadian Cable Television Association (CCTA) has made this point as well:

Community programming . . . provides cable television subscribers with a distinctly local television programming service which enables them to stay in touch with their communities and the issues which affect their daily lives (CCTA 1990, 1).

Then there were those who saw in the surge of American cable access channels in the 1980s, a promising development in terms of their potential for re-democratizing the television system, and as a forum for progressive political and social activists to get their message out to the public. One of these was Douglas Kellner, whose book Television and the Crisis of Democracy documents what he characterizes as the triumph of corporate media interests over

genuine democratic communication in the Reagan/Bush America of the 1980s. Kellner argued that "a democratic/progressive political agenda of the future requires a politics of information and media reform" (Kellner 1990, 191), which meant, in particular, "a new communications politics and the democratization of television" (182). As one of the keys towards greater democracy in television, Kellner advocated the expansion of cable access television (182):

Public access television is one of the few real forms of alternative television, and it provides the best prospect for using the broadcast media to serve the interests of popular democracy (207).

Along similar lines, Goldberg saw cable access in Canada not only as a promising tool for community expression, but as a widely available alternative medium:

This alternative communications system, which, unlike all other alternative media, is readily available to the great majority of Canadians, has enormous potential to liberate the public from the controlled flow of information, experience and thought (Goldberg 1990, 6).

Yet although Goldberg describes the state of community access television in Canada as having reached a "current level of respectability" after twenty years of development (Goldberg, 6), she expresses disappointment in what she sees as the evolution of this "truly revolutionary" concept into a medium which has "in most cases, slipped into that well-worn groove of 'safe' programming carved out by commercial broadcast television," and which is rarely used as a tool for social change (3-4).

Goldberg depicts the 1980s as a period in which control of community channel programming in Canada gradually shifted out of the hands of community volunteers and into those of cable company staff. She also notes a trend toward the production of more conventional types of programming, and sees both these factors as contributing to the contemporary malaise of community access programming in Canada (Goldberg 18).

"Community television has grown up," she summarizes, "but as is the fate of many creative children brimming with potential, its rites of passage were really lessons in conformity" (22).

Goldberg's lament over the state of Canadian community access television in the 1980s finds a parallel in the writings of some access observers in the United States. The rapid expansion of cable television in the United States began to lose momentum by 1983, and as profits from the metropolitan cable franchises awarded in the boom years turned out to be not quite as expected, the requests for cutbacks which followed tended to focus first on access channels (Janes 1987, 19). Kellner, in fact, cites examples of some cities where the cable companies either took control of the access channels themselves or began to lease them out commercially (Kellner 1990, 211). Similarly, McLane's assessment deserves to be quoted here at some length:

[In many communities] the actual use of access turned out to be different than many people's expectations. The initial hope of almost unlimited access channels and production facilities . . . was almost everywhere thwarted by economic and political constraints. Cable companies' grandiose promises evaporated in the face of unexpected costs and slow-to-build consumer interest. Due to lobbying on the part of franchise holders, regulations . . . have been modified in recent years to favor cable company profitability and to down-play access. . . . Add to this the fact that it requires dedication and sustained effort to mobilize users to produce shows for access, and the recurrent criticism that "no one watches access," and the promises of access as democracy in action seem somewhat fatuous (McLane 1987, 4).

Vickroy characterized the state of cable access in the 1980s in even bleaker terms, describing the concept of community programming as having "become a public relations tool that cable television companies have traditionally used to entice city governments into granting cable franchises," and concluding that despite the obvious potential of access programming arrangements, "almost all have failed, sometimes causing bankruptcy on the part of the cable company, or the dissolution of local programming altogether" (Vickroy 1987, 24).

In light of the preceding assessments, it is instructive to review the concerns which were expressed back in the formative days of the medium by some of the earlier observers regarding impediments to community access television: some of these warnings have proven quite prophetic, at least in the context of some of the 1980s assessments. In 1971, for instance, Charles Tate had sounded the following warning:

Because there is great power and profit potential in the ownership and control of this medium, the oft-repeated "rip-off" by big business interests for private gain at the expense of the public interest is taking place once more. If it succeeds, it will stifle the diversified, highly specialized, local programming potential of CATV and prevent local control of community development (Tate 1971, 17).

And, in 1974, Carpenter-Huffman et al. were eloquently urging that

the public will have to inform itself thoroughly and quickly about cable issues if this technology is to serve social needs. Once institutions or industries have become firmly established, as we learned with radio and TV, it is extremely difficult to reorient them. Cable may be our last chance to shape an important communication medium to our own desires. . . . Narrow interests can dazzle the uninitiated with the magic of the technology and cow them with expertise. The public interest can be sold for a few glittering trinkets (Carpenter-Huffmann et al. 1974, 4).

They also advised that if those who were genuinely interested in community access television did not actively seek, through political pressure, to ensure its continued existence, "then other pressures, lack of interest, or ignorance will make public access ineffectual and unimportant" (11). Anderson expressed very similar concerns and was not as shy about naming the "other pressures," when he wrote in 1975 that "the promise of access may be stifled by cynical government officials, industrial conglomerates, and an apathetic public" (Anderson 1975, 80).

Not all of these observers were prepared to give up yet on the potential of cable access television, however. The concept of cable access certainly has its perennial problems, chief among them being the need to secure adequate funding and to attract an audience (Fuller 1990, 303; Anderson 1975, 90; Carpenter-Huffman et al. 1974, 4). Still, some observers took

pains to point out that cable access television did survive and even flourished in some places, becoming a vital community media outlet (Baldwin & McVoy 1983, 94-95). Kellner, for instance, lists a number of success stories as of 1990 where "innovative access programming" is regularly produced, including such major American cities as New York, Los Angeles, Boston, Chicago and Atlanta (Kellner 1990, 207).

As for the future of access television, both Kellner and Goldberg see hope in the application of satellite technology with the possible creation of national satellite distribution of access programming. According to Kellner, "satellite television remains the technological foundation for a national system of alternative television," and he proposes there be a "public interest satellite channel" which would be required carriage by every cable system, contingent upon an end to signal scrambling (Kellner 1990, 217-218).

Goldberg has proposed a similar idea for Canada, where she refers to a "national 'progressive' channel" which would provide community programming nation-wide (Goldberg 1990, 166). In fact, as both authors point out, this has already been initiated to a certain extent by a New York-based access group called Paper Tiger Television. In 1986, they produced a 10-part series of political and socially-relevant programs called "Deep Dish TV," which was collected from access producers all around the United States and beamed by satellite to over 300 access channels and private satellite dishes across the country (Kellner 1990, 212; McLane 1987, 3; Goldberg 1990, 165-166).⁶

⁶ Whether this idea of broadcasting cable access programming nationwide via satellite threatens to corrupt the notion of cable access programming as a vehicle for local expression is another matter.

Looking back over the development of cable television, Baldwin and McVoy (1983, 9) noted that "there is a dramatic difference between community antenna television and the 100-channel broadband communications systems of today." There is a dramatic difference as well between the pioneering days of community programming and the prospect of satellite networks delivering community access programming nation-wide. One constant is the expectations embodied in the concept of access to the television medium. Jankowski has summed up these expectations in a single phrase: "The promotion of a democratic and demystified electronic medium which would contribute to a more informed and active citizenry" (Jankowski 1982, 36). While noting that community television activists may sometimes tend "to get carried away with themselves and their rhetoric," Jankowski nevertheless asserts that even if this were so, it is not enough to negate "the core of the expectations of the medium":

There was a sense of hope and faith in cable and video, that some form of collective good would emerge from the effort to utilize these communication tools. This core value transcends the sometimes short-range strategies of the activists and merits closer examination (Jankowski 1982, 36).

We now turn our attention to a closer examination of these core values.

2.4. COMMUNITY ACCESS CABLE TELEVISION AND INFORMATION FLOW

Those who control the stories of a culture, control the culture.

George Gerbner

Man came by to hook up my cable TV
We settled in for the night my baby and me
We switched 'round and 'round 'til half-past dawn
There was fifty-seven channels and nothin' on
Fifty-seven channels and nothin' on

Bruce Springsteen, "57 Channels (and Nothin' On)"

In today's information society, we rely on various forms of mass media, whether they be television, radio, or newspapers, for information about ourselves and our world. Increasingly, we are relying on television as a primary source for entertainment and news, especially national and international news. Yet the word "television" is a general term. Television is a technology; the name given to the process by which electronically transmitted visual images are reproduced on the screen of a cathode ray tube receiving set. Beyond the technology of television, or any other communications technology, is the manner in which the technology is organized or structured. There are a number of different models for structuring and organizing television systems within a society. For instance, there is the private, commercial model which is dominant in the United States, and the public, government-run television model which has been favoured in European countries, at least until recently (Canada 1986, 25).

The structure of a television system, whether publicly owned, private, or mixed, has a great deal of influence on the kind of programming that system will produce, and, hence, the information it imparts to the viewer (Kellner 1990, 44). For example, it stands to reason

that a television system which is based on the philosophy of private enterprise will primarily attempt to produce the kind of programming which will result in the highest profit margins. On the other hand, a purely public, not-for-profit television system would have different goals, be they education or the promotion of national values.

Much has been published that has been critical of commercial network television and the kind of programming it tends to produce. As for community access television, its goals centre around the philosophy of citizen access to television production, where local community groups and individuals are to be allowed direct participation in the production of television programming to serve local needs and interests and to express their own ideas. It is therefore designed to encourage programming that does not necessarily fit within the constraints of the commercial or public television systems. What follows, then, is an examination of some of the criticisms of commercial television's structure and practices, along with a review of arguments which advocate cable access television as an alternative to conventional television.

2.4.1. CENTRALIZED PROGRAMMING AND ISSUES OF COMMUNITY

One of the main criticisms of commercial television involves the centralized nature of network programming. In the United States, as former FCC Chairman Nicholas Johnson has said, the commercial networks "simply dominate 'local' television," as witnessed by the fact that viewers tend to identify stations by network and not by local station I.D. (Litman 1979, 76). Likewise, Litman points to the vertically integrated structure of the broadcast television industry as giving the networks "an unnecessarily large concentration of power" and

leading to inevitable conflicts of interest when the networks are also station-owners (Litman, 57).

The power to determine what programs the local stations will air obviously gives the networks a great deal of control over what the public sees, and thus, a large degree of influence on the formation of public opinion. It was for this very reason that the FCC imposed its Prime-Time Access Rules, which, however, had little effect on the situation through the 1970s (Litman, 131-132). Furthermore, Kellner reports that the Reagan era deregulation of the television industry has reversed many of the equalizing measures previously put in place by the FCC (Kellner, 64).

From their network headquarters, then, the commercial networks exercise a considerable degree of control over the information that flows into the marketplace of ideas (Litman, 131). This centralized control of programming obviously operates at the expense of local priorities. When networks own stations, the chain of command runs from the network executives to the station managers, ensuring that virtually 100 percent of network programs will be cleared to air on the local station, thereby effectively supplanting the station's responsibility to choose programs in the best interests of the local community (Litman, 45; 57-58).

Naturally, while the centralized structure of the commercial networks gives them the power to control programming at the expense of local decision-making, it also results in a system which is quite unresponsive to local communications needs. As Knox has stated, this system has proven to be "completely unsatisfactory for handling the numerous small local issues," adding, more importantly, that while the mass media inundate us with programming, the individual is allowed "essentially no access to the media" (Knox 1973, 103). In addition

to the organizational structure of the system, the over-centralization of production hardware and the adoption of artificial technical standards also serve to guarantee limited access to the system (Shamberg, 32). Thus, aside from dominating local television at the expense of local communications needs, the centralized nature of the commercial network television system also restricts citizen access to local programming outlets.

While cable television technology itself was initially expected to provide the remedy for this situation by blasting apart the network-dominated log-jam of the broadcasting spectrum, it is clear that this has not occurred. Some, in fact, argue that cable communication technologies have actually served to weaken community relations and work against community interests by replacing direct human interaction with electronic interaction "across the cable" (Hollander 1985, 126). Hollander has speculated a world where the "traditional bonds of community may be sacrificed to the new technology," and where "individuals will have more in common with someone of a like occupation or hobby living on the opposite side of the country than they will with the guy next door" (127). Others point to studies that found cableviewers tend to watch more newscasts from distant cable channels than from their own local stations (Heeter & Greenberg 1988, 4). Some note that if cable has brought about the de-massification of television, it has not been accompanied by the increased political awareness or participation that some had envisioned, since viewers now have the option of tuning politics out altogether (Hollander 1985, 99-100). Kellner and others have provided critical analyses of the cable networks' absorption into the commercial television system in the 1980s (Kellner, 74; see also Hardin 1985, 197-283). All of these arguments point to the notion that cable technology in itself has not proven to be the community-friendly alternative to the centralized network oligopoly that many thought it would be.

Supporters of community access cable television, however, hail this use of the medium as an antidote to the networks' centralized control of programming. They point to the decentralized nature of access television, where programming decisions are supposed to be made in the local community by community members, and not in distant executive boardrooms. In contrast to the networks' centralized control of information flow, it is said that access television offers its users the chance to redirect the flow of information in a most fundamental way: by creating their own versions of reality, telling their own stories, and generating their own knowledge (Church 1987, 7; Shamberg, 22).

The element of local control is often advanced as one of the key aspects which sets community access television apart from commercial network television (Goldberg 1990, 3). Gillespie describes it as "a return to decentralized community communication of the vernacular processed in the vernacular," where "the community benefits from control of its own affairs" (Gillespie 1975, 1). Similarly, McLane points out that "community access remains in most cases a local experience," which "demystifies the 'big brother' omnipotence of the electronic information and entertainment system that dominates American screens" (McLane 1987, 3).

One aspect of community access television which its advocates say contributes to this demystification process, is that it is designed to allow citizens to use television technology to communicate directly to their fellow citizens without the need for mediators. The advantage of this, according to Gwyn, is that

the traditional "gatekeepers" of communications flow--established media . . . and established media practitioners, such as journalists, editors, producers, and technicians--are bypassed. Instead, the average individual makes direct use of communication techniques for him or herself (Gwyn 1983, 313).

Similarly, in contrast to the over-centralization of production hardware and the intimidating aura of media professionalism, Fuller describes the idea of cable access television as

the ability of non-professional individuals or community groups to participate in the programming management, production, and control over a cable channel In its purest form, it is operated non-hierarchically by artistic and/or advocacy-oriented volunteers (1990, 303).

The non-hierarchical, non-professional nature of access channels is thus said to allow for a horizontal, democratically structured programming strategy where air time is made available on a first come, first served basis (Fuller, 303; Goldberg 1990, 8). This 'open' philosophy certainly appears in stark contrast to the commercial television system's centralized control of programming which utilizes a relatively limited number of producers (Roman 1983, 57). Fuller, for example, cites Enos' 1979 study which reported the existence of 307 producers of access programming on cable systems in Manhattan (Fuller 1990, 304). Fuller's own study of access producers also found a great diversity in terms of motivations, interests, and demographics among producers of access programming (1990, 310-311). As Roman points out, since the programming does not rely upon commercial support and is therefore "unhampered by the tyranny of ratings," access producers "are able to present programs that truly reflect the needs and interests of their subscribers" (1983, 95).

Essentially, then, these writers argue that such a decentralized, volunteer-run, community-oriented media structure is better able to serve local communications needs than is a central network controlled by executives in New York or Toronto.

2.4.2. HOMOGENIZATION OF PROGRAMMING

Many have argued that commercial network television structures have led to a decline in the diversity of their programming. The over-centralization of network structures has been

identified as a contributing factor to this result. As Roman points out, the fact that "a handful of independent producers are responsible for most of the programs broadcast" results in "homogenized programming that makes it difficult to distinguish one network from the other" (Roman 1983, 57).

Others focus on the economics of network television and its commercial orientation. Pool points to the fact that to be as economically efficient as possible, the networks had to aim at achieving economies of scale, thereby lowering their production and distribution costs per capita. This they were able to achieve "by standardizing the information output," and, Pool adds, "there can be no doubt that this standardized fare is a powerful force toward conformity" (Pool 1973, 6).

Litman also examined the economics of commercial network television. While noting that "the idea persists that the broadcasting industry must remain open and free to as many different sources as is economically possible," he found a steady increase in the homogenization of network programming over the period of his study, from 1970 to 1975 (Litman 1979, 2; 110). Litman provides statistical evidence which documents the networks' tendency to imitate one another, illustrating their approach to programming as emphasizing uniformity over diversity (36). Because of the commercial constraints of the system, he explained, the networks must deliver the largest possible audience to their advertisers, which requires their programming to appeal to mass taste and ultimately results in imitation (Litman, 109).

Litman condemns the vertical integration of the commercial television industry as a cause of homogenized programming, pointing out that the affiliation agreements between the networks and local stations have allowed the networks to solidify their power and erect bar-

riers to keep out newer competitors (Litman, 55). In addition, vertical integration and self-preference in the production process, by restricting the input market, deny the public "the chance to see and hear a diversity of viewpoints from a variety of sources" (Litman, 132; 97). Moreover, the quality of programming is further diminished through the network practice of protecting their weaker shows by tying them to more popular ones in an all-or-nothing package offered to the affiliates (Litman, 45). Litman, therefore, decries the structure and practices of the commercial networks in the 1970s as causing the discrepancy between "the promise of TV to create a multitude of tongues and the resultant tendency toward imitation and repetition" (Litman, 1).

Even though the growth of cable in the 1980s was welcomed by television industry observers as a promising source for new voices and diverse program offerings, it does not appear to have fulfilled its promise. Roman estimated in 1983 that three-quarters of the U.S. cable industry was owned by other media, and that this threatened to have a "chilling effect" on cable television. And Kellner has recounted the corporate mergers of the American networks in the 1980s and the resultant intensification of commercial television which he sees as resulting in the production of less innovative and challenging programming (Roman 1983, 115; Kellner 1990, 180-181). Kellner's appraisal, in fact, would seem to indicate that the homogenization of television programming increased in the 1980s. Television historian Erik Barnouw also echoes this appraisal. Describing the cable-boom optimism prevalent in the early 1980s, he writes:

Popular wisdom had it that expanding opportunities plus deregulation would spur innovation and bring on a television renaissance. Few saw this happening. The glut of programming apparently did not guarantee increased diversity. Cable systems produced little that was new; most felt they did not need to (Barnouw 1990, 513).

Barnouw also notes that the traditional networks in the 1980s were "caught on a treadmill of their own," recycling "long-trusted genres" of popular dramas and sit-coms (Barnouw, 513). Likewise, Eaman observed of the Canadian cable industry in the 1980s that the "steady increase in available channels was not being accompanied by a significant increase in the number of good programs" (Eaman 1987, 139).

In contrast to the uniformity of commercial television, proponents of community access television claim that it can offer a great diversity of voices and viewpoints. This, they say, is made feasible because the forces in the commercial television system which lead to the production of homogenous programming are not present in access television. Since access television is not a commercial enterprise, producers of access programming are not responsible to advertisers, just to themselves, and are therefore not constrained by the need to aim for mass taste. Theoretically, then, and in keeping with its decentralized nature, the number of producers for access programming is limited only by the number of people in a community. Thus, the 'open' philosophy of access television purportedly offers the potential for a much more diverse menu of programming fare than is possible through the commercial television system.

Some cable access supporters also claim that access channels are the source for the most innovative television programming being produced (Davitian 1987, 35). They point out that the freedom to innovate is afforded by community access television's grassroots orientation, which, as Fuller explains, grants it the luxury of providing specialized and even personalized programming (Fuller 1990, 303). Goldberg's description of community access television's initial years makes this point as well:

Never before had people been able to make or watch a TV show that might only interest twenty other people. Commercial television, in its eternal quest to deliver

the largest possible audience to advertisers, is restricted to airing programs with the broadest possible appeal and the most innocuous content (1990, 9).

Gwyn maintains, in fact, that community cable television programming is most successful when it is indeed aimed at specific, specialized audiences, such as minority groups (1983, 322). And McLane's summary of offerings on access channels

includes shows which range from the annual Gay Parade in West Hollywood to pig racing in Vermont. It also includes town meetings and city council proceedings, thoughtful analyses of U.S. foreign policy, play-by-play of little league baseball games and truly local exposes of issues such as crime, homelessness, zoning and development, drug abuse, and environmental pollution (1987, 3).

The diversity of programming on access channels, then, is said to be one of the alluring features of the medium and something which represents a real alternative to conventional television programming.

As for public television's place in the issue of homogenous programming, it should be noted that even though public television programming is perhaps less generic than that of commercial television, it certainly cannot offer the kind of specialized programming that community access television is said to permit (McLane 1987, 3). And on the issue of centralization, it is clearly not public television's primary purpose to serve local communications needs. For instance, even before the most recent round of cuts to local programming, the CBC's network programming accounted for much more of the schedule than what was produced by local stations (Canada 1986, 276). In fact, the current direction at the network appears to be moving away from local programming and toward regional coverage. Because the services delivered by the CBC's private affiliates account for almost 30 percent of its television audience (Canada 1986, 274), this makes it somewhat problematic to assess the CBC's performance in strict public-private terms. But, of course, since the CBC relies

on media professionals for its programming, it is certainly not the horizontally structured, citizen-run community media resource that community access television is said to be.

2.4.3. BROADCAST TELEVISION STRUCTURE AND FEEDBACK

Another common criticism of conventional television involves issues pertaining to its structural qualities as an information system. "A system is defined by the character of its information flow," Shamberg declared in 1971. "But the structure of broadcast television contains its own schizophrenic contradictions" (Shamberg 1971, 9). Not satisfied at simply changing the type of programming produced by broadcast television, Shamberg's guerrilla war against the medium involved a strike at the very structure of the system itself:

Broadcast television is structurally unsound. The way it is used is the result of its inherent technological characteristics. Those attributes create the political and economic environment which determines the nature of programming, not vice versa (Shamberg, 32).

He listed the characteristics of healthy systems to include the following:

1. they support a high variety of forms, or diversity rather than uniformity;
2. they are complex, not simple;
3. they minimize redundancy . . . ;
4. they are symbiotic rather than competitive;
5. they trend toward decentralization and heterogeneity; and,
6. they are stable as a result of the above (32).

In Shamberg's view, broadcast television did not conform to these criteria. Because of the high costs of broadcast television production, he argued, including high overhead and union scale costs, the only source aside from charity which can afford to fund broadcast television

is advertising (he neglects to mention government television); and advertisers will only fund certain limited types of information congenial to their own interests, thus resulting in an information system that "supports a low variety of forms, or viewpoints" (Shamberg, 32). Knox also criticized broadcast television structures from a systems design perspective. He characterized the mass media as "saturating the individual's environment with information of all sorts, without giving him adequate means for selecting what he wants," and concluded that "this is not good system design" (Knox 1973, 106-107).

According to these perspectives, then, the problem with broadcast television is a systemic one which cannot be addressed properly by anything less than a total restructuring of the television system. Shamberg argued that any new system must have "its own alternate information structures, not just alternate content pumped across existing ones" (Shamberg, 27). His answer was to replace broadcast television with a more "general-purpose technology" as exemplified by computers, which can support a number of diverse uses. He saw video and cable television as more desirable media technologies in this regard (32-33). In support of his call for a whole new information system to replace commercial television, Shamberg quotes Frank Gillette's statement that such a change is justified because any attempt at reforming broadcast television is "like building a healthy dinosaur" (as quoted in Shamberg, 32).

This skeptical evaluation seems to be confirmed, in fact, by past attempts at reforming the television system in the United States. For example, in the mid-1960s, the FCC attempted to restore some balance of power to broadcast television by ordering the removal of option-time clauses in the affiliation agreements between the networks and local stations, as these clauses basically gave the networks the power to program prime-time hours as they pleased.

The fact that this attempt failed, leaving the system essentially unchanged, "suggests that marginal structural solutions will not bring about the desired results in the television broadcast industry" (Litman 1979, 48-49).

While these writers criticized the broadcast television system, they, and others, also specifically identified the absence of any significant form of feedback in the system as one of the main deficiencies in the structure.⁷ The television system's inability to accommodate feedback manifested itself in what Shamberg called a kind of "mass media therapy" in the 1960s where "informationally disenfranchised" groups instigated events to get media coverage "and then rushed home to see the verification of their experience on TV" (Shamberg, 12). Kellner likewise noted that in the United States "there exists no regular feedback mechanism by which network news performance can be criticized" (Kellner 1990, 190). It has also been noted that the only existing feedback appears in the form of editorial replies by "responsible spokesmen," who are chosen by the station management (Shamberg, 57m).

The process of enhancing the level of feedback in a system, then, naturally requires that the receivers are able to communicate their responses back to the 'senders.' In television, this would mean that the audience is allowed input into the production process. However, as Shamberg notes: "Never is a community group permitted to present its own response footage shot on location in the community and edited by the people themselves" (Shamberg, 57m). That, of course, is the core philosophy of access television: that the audience does not simply receive the programming passively, but is able to participate in the production of television

⁷ While the ratings system does represent a form of feedback, it is important to note, however, that only a sample of the viewing audience is used, and that this sample is selected by those doing the measurement, thus hardly representing an 'open' system of receiving feedback. Also, non-viewing is the only form of criticism it is able to measure.

programming. It is designed to obliterate the distinction between sender and receiver; not so much in the "real time" sense of the programming process (for there will still be "senders" and "receivers"), but in the structural, systemic sense where the "ordinary citizen" is given control over programming, in what Goldberg calls a "user-defined" television system (1990, 6).

Access to television production has therefore been advanced as a remedy for what is perceived as the inherently faulty structure of broadcast television. In community access television, the solution to the conventional system's lack of feedback is to actually shift the control of programming over to the viewers themselves. In other words, those who were previously relegated to a "receiving-only" role because of the structure of the conventional television system, now become, in a systemic sense, both "senders" and "receivers." According to Goldberg, this is what distinguishes community access television from all other media. She quotes the co-producer of a Campbell River, British Columbia cable access program called "Women's Perspective," who explains why access television works for their purposes:

A major difference between us doing our own television show as opposed to the newspaper doing an article about us is that we have control over it. . . . We have control over the message. We don't get edited and reduced to inflammatory headlines. We get a chance to really explain our position. And people can understand it then. It makes more sense (Goldberg 1990, 3).

While we have been discussing what its supporters claim are the merits of community access television as an alternative to conventional television structures and practices, many of the claims about the virtues of community access television remain untested. In theory, community access television appears to be a method of guaranteeing feedback in the system (somewhat analogous to talking to one's self). However, the practical realities of this process

still remain in question. It remains to be seen whether community access television is able to supply adequate feedback or whether the sender/receiver rift is still in evidence, only with new "senders." Audience considerations are necessary to discover whether there are in fact any "receivers" for community programming at all. Furthermore, while some studies have examined the content and nature of access programs or program producers (see Fuller 1990, 304), we can not truly assess the effectiveness of community access television as an information system until we know what kind of impact its programming is having on its audience.

CHAPTER III

POLICY ANALYSIS

3.1. ANALYSIS OF THE CRTC'S COMMUNITY CHANNEL POLICY

This chapter will provide a review and an analysis of CRTC policies and regulations governing the community channel, and the assumptions regarding viewership and audience impact underlying the Commission's rationale for implementing these measures. The chapter will then focus on literature concerning the relationship between community media use and community ties, and will conclude by stating the hypotheses for the study.

A review of the CRTC's policy literature pertaining to the community channel indicates that the Commission views community access programming as a media resource which can help to foster and sustain ties between the individual and the community. Yet an examination of these policy documents would lead one to conclude that the CRTC's policies and regulations concerning the community channel do not appear to be informed by any substantial measurement of community channel audiences, or by any research into the impact community programming might have on the development of community ties.

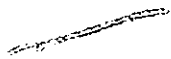
The CRTC released a series of public announcements and other documents concerning cable television in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Where these dealt with local programming on cable systems, they were designed mostly to encourage cable operators to experiment with community programming. At this stage of its development, the Commission viewed community programming as an on-going experiment and did not require all cable operators to provide a community channel. The practice of imposing conditions of licence was used

as the Commission's primary means of implementing this phase of its community channel policy (CRTC 1984, 2; 1971b, 28).

In its first public announcements regarding cable access television, released on May 13, 1969 and April 10, 1970, the Commission stated that one of the benefits of community programming is its ability to assist in the development of community identity and to "enrich community life by fostering communication among individuals and community groups" (CRTC 1971a, 11; 17). It can be reasonably assumed that the community identity that is to be developed and the communication that is to be fostered would involve not only those participating in programming endeavours, but also those who watch the programs. Yet, these announcements do not take the audience for community programming into account.

In its 1971 publication entitled Cable Television in Canada, the Commission did address viewership to a certain degree when it stated that cable systems "report interest and excitement from their subscribers, although it is difficult to estimate just how large the audiences are for community programs" (CRTC 1971a, 29). Figures were provided for one system that "went to unusual lengths" to gather audience feedback, and which concluded that 24 percent of its subscribers were watching its community programming (29). However, it is difficult to reach any conclusions about the state of community programming based on only one case.

In February of 1971, and in preparation for a public hearing to be held in April of that year, the CRTC released its Public Announcement titled "The Integration of Cable Television in the Canadian Broadcasting System." This statement outlined the Commission's views on several issues pertaining to the development of cable television and its place in the overall



broadcasting system. In Part III, which dealt exclusively with community programming, the Commission stated:

It is now possible to conclude that community programming is a practical possibility and that it has considerable potential for further development and refinement as part of the Canadian broadcasting system (CRTC 1971b, 26).

The announcement discussed a number of the Commission's observations concerning community programming, emphasizing the view that community programming could reflect the diversity of experience that exists at the community level, as well as its ability to "seek out minority audiences" and serve "communities of interest" (26). Communities of interest were described as comprising "people with similar interests who may be located throughout the total population but who come together as a result of their viewing pattern" (26).

It also emphasized the importance of citizen access in transforming formerly passive recipients of television programming into active participants in this media process, and declared that "for a member of a group or an individual citizen, direct participation in programming by cable television facilitates dialogue and communication" (26). The Commission also discussed ways that cable systems could serve local communities, suggesting that it would be valuable "to explore how cable systems might use their technical facilities to split their services to deliver programs that are directly relevant to specific groups," and that it was "anxious to encourage such programming where there is community interest" (27-28). It is not entirely clear whether this meant interest in participating in programming or interest in the programs produced.

After the public hearing of April 1971 the CRTC released its first major policy statement on cable television. Entitled "Canadian Broadcasting: 'A Single System'," this document outlined the Commission's conclusions and decisions to be implemented either as

policies or as future regulatory measures. Among the policies adopted, the CRTC decided that "cable television systems should be encouraged to provide access to a channel for community expression and information" (CRTC 1971c, 13). This "encouragement" to provide a community access channel was therefore not a mandatory regulation. The Commission stated that while it supported a flexible approach with regard to the types of programming carried on the channel, community programming (i.e., citizen planned and produced) should receive first priority (18). It also felt that community groups should not be issued licences and that the final responsibility for programming would rest with the cable operator. In addition, policy measures were adopted which prohibited the sale of commercial advertising time on the community channel.

In this document, the Commission discussed "informational programming" as one of the possible functions of the community channel. It stated that this type of programming could "inform the community about matters which are of concern and interest to its citizens," and that the programs "may be of a highly specialized nature, appealing to minority audiences, or they may be of a general interest," adding that "effective informational programming should make for improved and more responsible participation in community programming" (1971c, 17-18). It also stated that while programming undertaken by the community itself should receive first priority, other kinds of programs could also be included as long as they are "generally considered to be of specific interest to the community" (18).

With this series of documents, then, the Commission provided the basic parameters and expectations of what community programming on cable television should strive to be. However, its only references to audience considerations were to be found in statements concerning assumptions of viewing patterns and community interest. And while the

Commission made several references to community interest as a criterion for evaluating the types of programming which may appear on the community channel, there is nothing in these documents to indicate any formal attempts were made to measure the extent of interest or audience acceptance of community programming at that time.

In 1972, the Commission released its publication entitled Local Programming on Cable Television, which contained the results of a survey aimed primarily at obtaining a "picture of the nature and amount of local programming that was being shown" and "the process of citizen participation in programming and on the ways in which programming can help service communication needs in the community" (CRTC 1972, 2). However, as this was a survey only of cable operators, it did not, therefore, allow for any direct measurement of viewership response to community channel programming. Although reference was made to audience viewing patterns as a consideration in scheduling, no figures or sources of information dealing with this issue were given (33).

One of the survey's questions asked cable operators to indicate the specific type of audience their community channel programs were aimed at. The cable operators surveyed reported that

a large proportion of local origination is not, in fact, motivated by an effort to connect with a particular audience but really represents a kind of blanket coverage of everybody and anybody who happens to be watching the local channel (1972, 15).

In discussing varying approaches to community participation, the report stated that in the process by which cable operators selected the programming proposals they thought would most likely be successful, one of the major considerations given was "the value of the proposed program to the community audience" (38). It would appear, then, that many assumptions regarding what community channel audiences found interesting or valuable were being

made by cable operators and by the Commission itself without much evidence to suggest that the audience was ever consulted on these matters. While the 1972 survey does make reference to the fact that many cable operators were reporting "the lack of a strong community response to programming" (39), it seems likely that the viewers' retort to this assessment might have justifiably been: "Well, you didn't ask us!"

To the CRTC, the period after the 1971 Policy Statement was considered to be a time for observation of the still largely experimental community programming efforts. In early 1975, however, the Commission issued another policy statement, this one being devoted exclusively to issues regarding the community channel. Apart from outlining certain specific expectations regarding staffing, community participation, bicycled programming, etc., it contained two major proposals which represented considerable shifts in community channel policy. First, the Commission concluded that the community channel should be "maintained and strengthened" and that it should become a mandatory component of cable service through regulation (CRTC 1975a, 2). And second, it suggested that each licensee set aside a minimum of 10 percent of its gross annual subscriber revenue to ensure adequate funding for the community channel (6).

In November of 1975 the CRTC published its "Regulations Respecting Broadcasting Receiving Undertakings (Cable Television)," which officially enshrined the requirement that cable systems provide a community channel and defined the types of programming which could be carried on the channel. The regulations also maintained the ban on advertising. Basically, these regulations represented a formalization of much of the Commission's 1971 policy (CRTC 1975b, 1).

In the following month the CRTC released its "Policies Respecting Broadcasting Receiving Undertakings (Cable Television)," which were designed to "supplement and extend" the previously released regulations (CRTC 1975c, 1). Basically, these policies directed licensees to improve the quality and diversity of Canadian television broadcasting and program production, and to assume more responsibility in the strengthening of the total broadcasting system. To this end, one of the major provisions stated that licensees should "contribute a unique social service in the form of a community programming channel," and, more importantly, that "the community channel must become a primary social commitment of the cable television licensee" (1975c, 1; 3).

However, the most noteworthy aspect of these new policies was that the Commission did not follow through with its plan for ensuring financial support of community programming with the universal imposition of the 10-percent-of-subscription-revenue funding formula. Instead, it said it would expect licensees to contribute "a reasonable percentage" of revenue to their community channel operation, and that the 10 percent figure would be kept only as "a useful standard" for evaluating this contribution, along with the general profitability of the undertaking (1975c, 4). Although the Commission expressed its concern that the lack of a funding requirement might eliminate any community programming incentive on the part of the licensees, it ultimately decided to adopt the more flexible approach which the licensees had argued for. The Commission indicated quite clearly, however, that the licensee's funding efforts would be a factor in assessing the company's performance at licence renewal time and when examining annual returns (4).

In terms of assessing the level of community acceptance of access programming during this period, the 1975 Policy Statement mentioned that the "poor technical quality" of

the community channel was one of the main obstacles to "a more complete acceptance by the public of the community channel" (CRTC 1975a, 14). Yet, here again, the Commission did not provide any figures to indicate the magnitude of this less-than-complete public acceptance of the channel, and did not elaborate as to the means by which it arrived at this assessment.

The Policy Statement also set out several criteria by which the Commission stated it would be able to assess such things as the degree of public acceptance of the community channel. Among its assessment criteria were the following factors:

- b) The nature and diversity of the groups and individuals involved as participants in the process and also as members of the viewing audience. . . .
- e) Effectiveness in reaching differentiated interest groups rather than a mass audience . . . [and]
- g) The reaction of the community to the programming. This will take into account the extent of audience acceptance and support for the programming (CRTC 1975a, 15) [underlining mine].

However, when the 1978 Survey of the Community Channel was published, the opportunity it might have provided to report on these kinds of assessments had apparently been overlooked, despite the fact that one of the stated objectives of the survey was

to gather data on state-of-the-art programming; . . . the relative effectiveness of these programs; [and] the nature and diversity of programming participants and audiences; . . . (CRTC 1979b, 1) [underlining mine].

As had been the case with the 1972 survey, this one was also administered only to cable operators and did not attempt to directly gather the opinions of community channel viewers. Declaring that "one of the most crucial factors in the establishment of a successful and effective community channel is the ability of the licensee to get information both to and from the community" (CRTC 1979b, 15), the Commission's survey had asked cable operators several questions regarding their relationship with the community, including: "How do you

ascertain the needs and interests of the people in the community?", and "How do you assess the community acceptance of specific programs?" (15). In these and other areas regarding feedback from the community and promotion of the channel, the methods used most often by the licensees' involved either some type of informal, word-of-mouth feedback between members of the community and community channel staff, or the use of the community channel itself to promote its availability (15). The report obviously missed, or at least chose to ignore, the irony in the fact that the channel itself was used as a promotional tool to publicize the channel's availability, as only those people in the community who were already aware of the channel would have been the beneficiaries of this information!

To obtain an idea of the community's needs and interests, the most popular method reported was "responding to community-initiated approaches to staff (68% always, 31% sometimes)," followed by "using general knowledge and intuition (61% always, 36% sometimes)" and "referring to other local media (39% always, 46% sometimes)" (17). The report was quick to point out that while only four percent of cable operators surveyed said they "always" conducted surveys, almost half (49%) said they do so "sometimes." Yet the report also added that "the overall use of surveys to determine viewer acceptance of specific programs . . . is lower (8% always, 28% sometimes)," with the more frequently used methods of gauging audience acceptance of specific programs being those based on "comments and requests received by staff," "general conversations with people phoning the programming or other departments," and "general knowledge and intuition" (17).

Despite the report's claim that "the Commission is interested more in the overall effectiveness and diversity of programming and the manner and degree to which it reflects and contributes to the community" (1979b, 38; underlining mine), it provided nothing in the

way of any analysis or attempt at directly measuring the impact of community channel programming on its audience. If the "effectiveness" of such programming is to be assessed, surely a survey of the viewers would be more valuable than a survey of cable operators. This report provided merely a sample of cable operators' perspectives and opinions on the effectiveness of the programming on their system's community channel (1979b, 59).

As had been the case with the 1972 survey of cable operators, the 1978 survey primarily focused on the process of community programming and paid little heed to the actual viewership of community channel programs themselves. Therefore, although the 1970s were certainly a pivotal period in the development of the community channel, it also appears that during this, the community channel's first decade, the important task of formulating public policy to oversee the growth of community programming was undertaken with no evidence to suggest that the regulatory agency charged with this task had conducted any formal examination of the impact this type of programming activity was having on the community audience.

Throughout the 1980s, the Commission dealt with a number of requests from the cable industry to modify community channel obligations and regulations. The two issues recurring most frequently were proposals to allow other programming services on the channel (such as broadcasts of the Parliamentary Question Period) and requests to permit advertising. The Commission's initial response to both of these matters was that they would not be positive steps (CRTC 1979a, 23; 34).

Since 1982, however, the CRTC had begun to move away from its regulatory capacity, preferring instead to adopt a more supervisory role. In 1985, the Commission held

public hearings to discuss proposed new cable television regulations. When the Cable Television Regulations were finally formalized in 1986, the CRTC had obviously continued with its move to "lighten the burden of regulation with respect to the operation of cable" (CRTC 1984, 3). It characterized this shift as a necessary step in light of the many changes that had taken place in the communications community over the ten year period since the adoption of the 1975 regulations (CRTC 1986, 3).

In terms of community programming, which the Commission referred to in its public notice as a "unique and valuable community service" (CRTC 1986, 10-11), these new regulations contained some very significant changes in policy direction - in some cases signifying a full 180 degree turn. One such dramatic turnabout was the provision in the new regulations which, for the first time, allowed contra, credit and sponsorship advertisements on the community channel. These types of advertising are limited to providing "simple oral or written acknowledgements in return for financial assistance or the provision of goods or services," and may not include the use of words, visuals, jingles or slogans (unless trademarked) that actively promote services or goods (1991a, 8; 9). It was the Commission's view that this change would help cable operators to improve the quantity and quality of their programming. In fact, it specified that the revenues gained from these ads should be used for initiating or improving community programming - the same argument put forward by the CCTA in 1979, but which the Commission at that time rejected. According to the Commission, there was no evidence that permitting these types of messages would change the fundamental character of the community channel. However, it continued its ban on the use of more commercially oriented "spot" advertisements (CRTC 1986, 11).

The other major change was the incorporation into the new regulations of the Commission's previous policy decision of July 1985 allowing complementary programming, including Parliamentary telecasts or provincial legislature proceedings, on the community channel. The 1985 decision allowed certain types of these non-commercial programs to be distributed on systems serving 3,000 subscribers or less, providing that licensees met several stipulations which were designed to serve local wishes and to give predominance to local programming. As part of the new regulations, permission to carry complementary programming was extended further to include cable systems with up to 6,000 subscribers (11).

The new regulations embodied a complete reversal in the Commission's previous position regarding advertising and the carriage of other types of programming on the community channel. Indeed, the decision to allow advertising on the channel was an abrupt about-face in a long-standing policy which had staunchly prohibited advertising from the very beginning.

In its 1985 Public Notice, "Complementary Programming on the Community Channel," the Commission had stated that it was

generally pleased by the manner in which community programming has developed and matured over the years. Its effectiveness is the result of the efforts of those licensees who understood the benefits of providing programming complementary to conventional offerings and of responding to identified local needs and who have successfully built upon the Commission's initial policy framework, to create a vital and important element of the broadcasting system (1985b, 2) [underlining mine].

Having given no evidence of any studies undertaken to assess the impact of community programming on its audiences, we can only assume that the Commission's declaration of the community channel's "effectiveness" must be intended primarily as a reference to its availability as a programming resource for the community. Again, the Commission appears to be emphasizing the process of producing programs, and paying no attention to the impact

programs are having on the audience, or whether there is an audience in the first place. This is interesting in light of the fact that the two major changes in the 1986 regulations involved issues which pertain more to viewership factors than to the production process. Part of the Commission's rationale for allowing the channel to carry certain types of complementary programming services was that it considered these programs to be valuable to viewers (CRTC 1985, 5). And certainly the inclusion of sponsorship advertisements on the channel is based on the same premise as any other kind of advertising: that viewers will be more likely to patronize the sponsor's business as a result of the exposure. One would think that if the Commission had access to any viewership studies which supported its position on these issues, it would have likely made reference to them in providing the rationale for these policy decisions; yet no reference to any such studies was made.

In June of 1990, the CRTC embarked upon the most recent review of its community channel policy by issuing a public notice which contained a number of proposed amendments to the existing regulations, and also addressed several other policy issues of concern to the Commission. Exactly a year later, on June 5, 1991, the new Community Channel Policy was announced. The news release accompanying the announcement described the new policy as "streamlined" (CRTC 1991b, 1). In its Public Announcement the Commission made note of the fact that over the 15 years during which the current community channel policy had been in effect, the cable industry had "matured considerably both in terms of subscriber growth and financial stability," and that this maturity "has been reflected in the quality and quantity of community programming and is further evidenced by a generally supportive attitude on the part of cable operators toward their community channel activities" (1991a, 1).

The Commission repeated its intention to preserve "the fundamental principles and spirit of the 1975 community channel policy," and also stated that it was important to

review a number of key issues in order to strengthen the mechanisms by which the community channel would meet the objectives of the Broadcast Act and ensure that community programming remains a vital and important component of the broadcasting system (CRTC 1991a, 1-2).

The revision was also meant to "accommodate the Commission's goal of streamlining its policies, regulations and administrative practices to retain only those mechanisms necessary to attain the objectives set out in the Broadcasting Act" (2).

In revising its community channel policies and regulations, the Commission stated that it was seeking to "build upon the proven strengths of the medium and encourage continued innovation in the years ahead" (1991a, 2):

In many instances the community channel has developed into a vibrant and important element within the broadcasting system overall, and has become particularly meaningful as a provider of local information, views and entertainment. This function of self-expression takes on even greater significance in those areas where the community channel is the only source of local television programming (1991a, 3).

Note that the language in this document assumes the presence of an audience, particularly the part which refers to the channel as "a provider of local information, views and entertainment."

The Commission emphasized that it considers the community channel's role to be "primarily of a public service nature, facilitating self-expression through free and open access by members of the community," and that it should provide programming that is complementary to conventional television (1991a, 2-3). It reaffirmed its view of licensees' obligations in terms of the "social dividend" with the following passage:

The provision of adequate financial resources to support the community channel remains the cable licensee's principle contribution to the public in exchange for the privilege of holding a cable television licence (1991a, 3).

The Commission also provided an outline of what was to be expected of cable licensees "as far as individual circumstances permit." Under the new policy, licensees would be expected to:

- engender a high level of citizen participation and community involvement in community programming;
- actively promote citizen access to the community channel and provide and promote the availability of training programs;
- provide feedback mechanisms, such as advisory boards, to encourage viewer response to the range and types of programs aired;
- seek out innovative ideas and alternative views;
- provide a reasonable, balanced opportunity for the expression of differing views on matters of public concern;
- reflect, where appropriate, the bilingual and ethnic composition of the community;
- provide coverage of local events; and,
- publicize the program schedule (1991a, 4).

The Commission also noted the implications of the existence of local programming on cable television in areas which have experienced reductions in local broadcast television service:

The role of the cable industry in the provision of local programming will become increasingly important in light of the evolving situation with respect to the provision of local services within the broadcasting system as a whole (1991a, 3).

It can be safely assumed that this is a somewhat veiled reference to the CBC cuts which resulted in the elimination of local programming from CBC television stations in several communities across the country (including Windsor).

While the policy review announcement of the previous year had proposed a regulation requiring all but the smallest licensees to contribute five percent of basic monthly subscriber revenues to the operation of the community channel in order to establish "a secure and

consistent funding level" (1991a, 5), the new policy adopted this level of financial support, but only as a "funding benchmark" to be administered as a "policy guideline" (CRTC 1991c, 4). The policy further stipulated that licensees would be expected to contribute "the large majority" of this amount, which does not include capital expenditures, toward the direct operating expenses of the community channel, and that the current case-by-case method for evaluating licensees' financial contributions would be retained (1991a, 6-7). In support of this decision, the Commission cited recent Statistics Canada data that showed community channel expenditures rose from \$6.3 million in 1975 to \$61.8 million by 1990, and also noted, as it did in the policy review, that the five percent level was consistent with the average industry spending on the community channel from 1985 to 1988, although the allocations by individual licensees ranged from 1.2 percent to 19 percent (1991a, 5).⁸

As with the 1975 policies, then, the Commission once more shied away from imposing a formal regulation on funding levels. It stated that its decision to adopt a flexible approach was influenced by the recognition "that there are inherent problems in the imposition of a rigid funding requirement" (1991a, 6); this being the argument made at the hearings by several large multi-system operators owning both large and small systems. However, the policy announcement also stressed that "the 5% level of financial contribution will be the minimum required of licensees. The Commission will expect those licensees that currently

⁸ This is an interesting compliance strategy, essentially based on the premise that if the funding requirement guideline is set at 10 percent of subscriber revenue, and licensees demonstrate they are only willing to provide five percent, the Commission will bring them into compliance by lowering the guideline. One cannot help but wonder whether or not this is a case of the tail wagging the dog.

fund their community channels at a higher level to continue to do so in the future" (1991a, 8).⁹

The Commission also adopted one of the other major proposals from the policy review announcement whereby small cable systems (Class 2 systems with fewer than 2,000 subscribers) will be exempt from their community channel obligation, but are expected to provide local alphanumeric services, i.e., the electronic bulletin board that appears on the screen when no programming is scheduled. Moreover, at the urging of the Ontario Cable Television Association and CI Cablesystems, the Commission proposed to amend the regulations to allow small systems to include classified ads and public service announcements with their alphanumeric services (18-19). The policy announcement stated that "the Commission considers it appropriate to adopt incentives that will encourage these licensees to maintain some degree of local service" (19).

On the issue of advertising on the community channel, it was decided that the current restrictions would be maintained, permitting only simple contra and sponsorship messages, but the Commission proposed to allow these messages to mention the sponsor's address and telephone number (1991a, 12). However, the Commission backed off on its previous proposal to impose a time limit of 15 seconds on contra and sponsorship messages, declaring the "absence of a demonstrated problem in this regard," and made reference to the cable industry's argument that "such a time limit on contra and sponsorship messages would impose a further restriction on their ability to attract sponsors" (10). The Commission added,

⁹ Interestingly, the word "required" is used in this instance, which would suggest the presence a fixed regulation. However, since this is certainly not the intention of the policy, it can only be assumed to that this was an oversight in the final policy text.

however, that it will amend the regulations for programming logging requirements in order to better monitor time given to sponsorship messages (10).

The Commission repeated its intention from the policy proposals to limit the commercial orientation of the community channel, and stressed that licensees should not deny or restrict access to groups or individuals by insisting that programs be sponsored (1991a, 10-11). It also repeated its two primary concerns about the commercialization of the channel; those being the "inevitable change in orientation" which a reliance on advertising revenue would bring, and the diversion of available advertising income from local conventional broadcasters (1991a, 12).

The Commission also announced its proposal to amend the regulations to allow the smallest licensees (those with fewer than 2,000 subscribers) to include a maximum of 12 minutes of local advertising every hour (1991a, 19). The Commission stated it was confident that

the increased ability of small cable systems to engage in advertising will be an incentive to actively program the community channel. However, the Commission would be concerned if this greater freedom to advertise resulted in a change in orientation of the programming provided (1991a, 20).

On the issue of interconnection, the Commission decided that, since this practice "is widespread and provides tangible benefits to licensees and audiences alike," programs produced by adjacent systems in a "common metropolitan urban area" will not be considered as bicycled or non-local programs, but non-adjacent systems will fall under a "policy benchmark" limiting non-local programming to no more than 40 percent (1991a, 14-15). On the issue of complementary programming on the community channel, the Commission announced that since it deemed that "the exhibition of a limited amount of government and public service information material would be in the public interest," it proposed to amend the

regulations to allow the largest licensees (Class 1) to carry public service announcements and government information along with televised proceedings of Question Period from the House of Commons and the appropriate Provincial or Territorial legislature (1991a, 17). However, as with its decision regarding interconnection, "local programs must retain scheduling priority, and foreign or commercial programs are not permitted" (1991a, 16).

Regarding the issue of access to the community channel, the policy announcement stressed that the Commission viewed citizen participation as "the cornerstone of the community channel" and reaffirmed its position from the 1975 regulations that the most distinguishing feature of the channel is "the ability of community programming to turn the passive viewer of television into an active participant" (1991a, 20), adding that this participation results in

programming of a nature that is as varied as the imagination and skills of the participants. Licensees are expected to give the community the widest opportunity for self-expression by actively encouraging groups and individuals to present program ideas, produce their own programs with the help of the licensee's staff, and submit videotapes and films produced by them for replay by the licensee (1991a, 20).

The Commission also added that

Licensees should actively consult members of the community [whether through formal advisory boards or informal feedback from volunteers] to determine the mix, scope and types of programs that would best serve the needs and interests of the community at large. . . . What is important is that licensees actively encourage citizen participation in determining the range and types of programs aired (1991a, 20-21).

The Commission repeated its appraisal from the policy review announcement, declaring its satisfaction that "for the most part, licensees have succeeded in their efforts to animate their communities and foster citizen involvement" (1991a, 21).

The 1991 community channel policy continues the Commission's practice of basing policy decisions on assumptions regarding the impact community programming is having on its viewership and its effectiveness as a community media resource, without providing any evidence that it has sought out the opinions of community channel viewers. For instance, in addressing the issue of interconnection between adjacent cable systems, the Commission states that this practice "provides tangible benefits to licensees and audiences alike" (1991a, 15; underlining mine), yet provides no evidence even to indicate how audiences benefit from their own cable system's programming, much less how sharing another system's programming benefits them. The policy also declares the Commission's desire to build upon "the proven strengths of the medium" (1991a, 2), yet since the Commission provides no proof of the community channel's strength in terms of its impact on viewers, it must be assumed that the Commission sees the community channel's strengths only in terms of its ability to provide access to programming facilities.

The new policy seems to identify two basic roles which the community channel fulfils. The first is its role as "a provider of local information, views and entertainment" (1991a, 3). Certain aspects of the 1991 policy, in fact, seem to be emphasizing the community channel's role as a substitute for the absence of other local television programming. The second is its role as a means of community self-expression through access to production facilities. However, the Commission has indicated quite clearly, with the new community channel policy and throughout its previous policy literature, that it sees the community channel's role to be more closely tied to the latter; as "primarily of a public service nature, facilitating self-expression through free and open access by members of the community" (1991a, 2-3). In fact the Commission seemed to be suggesting that more effort should henceforth be put toward

measuring viewership response to community channel programming, when it stated that it expected licensees to "provide feedback mechanisms . . . to encourage viewer response to the range and types of programs aired" (1991a, 4), and when it advised that "licensees should actively consult members of the community . . . to determine the mix, scope and types of programs that would best serve the needs and interests of the community at large" (20-21). To encourage such efforts in the gathering of audience feedback might be interpreted to mean by implication that not enough attention has been paid to viewership response in the past.

In short, then, while the provision of the community channel is referred to in the policy literature as a service to the community, it would seem that the Commission has viewed this service primarily as one of access to program production, while the benefits or impact of the programming--measured through viewership and other audience factors--seem to have been of secondary importance. Policy considerations do not appear to include any audience research undertaken to assess the channel's level of acceptance or to investigate the impact of its programming. If the Commission's regulation of the community channel is lacking such audience considerations, one must wonder whether these regulations and policies are based on incomplete research.

3.2. CABLE ACCESS TELEVISION AND COMMUNITY TIES

From reviewing the policy literature, it is clear that the CRTC subscribes to what has been called the "systemic" view of the relationship between community media use and community ties. Academic literature pertaining to community media in general began as an off-shoot of theoretical investigation into the process of urbanization in industrial societies (Stamm and Fortini-Campbell 1983, 1). Basically, debate in this arena centred around the

idea proposed by Janowitz and other "Chicago School" sociologists that urbanization had not engendered the collapse of community--as had been theorized by Toennies' writings on the shift from Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft--but that local communities survive as social constructions within the urban environment (Janowitz 1967, vii-viii; Stamm and Fortini-Campbell 1983, 1; Kasarda and Janowitz 1974, 328-329; Collins-Jarvis 1991, 6-7). The community press became an important focal point in this debate because it represented "a primary mechanism by which the social significance of local communities could be maintained" (Stamm and Fortini-Campbell 1983, 1). This "systemic" approach, as it was called, emphasized the integrative role played by community media in fostering community "attachment" or "ties" between the individual and the community (Stamm 1988, 357-358).

Later, scholars such as Merton and Stamm proposed that the direction of causality between community media use and community attachment is in fact the reverse: that increased community attachment leads to increased local media use (Jeffres, Dobos and Sweeney, 1987; Stamm 1988; Collins-Jarvis 1991). At present, the direction of this relationship is still under debate (Collins-Jarvis 1991, 4).

The policy position of the CRTC proposes that relationships exist among such concepts as "community," "community media use," and the "ties" to community which are believed to ensue from individuals' use of community media. Here, we will attempt to define these concepts as they will be used in this study.

A general definition of "community" has eluded social scientists for generations, which is not surprising considering one scholar reviewing the matter recorded the existence of 94 separate definitions of the concept (Stamm and Fortini-Campbell 1983, 5). Yet, without a clear conceptual definition of "community," any attempts to define such concepts as

"community ties." "community identification" or "community involvement" will be problematic at best. As Stamm and Fortini-Campbell point out in a 1983 study, clearly articulated operational definitions for concepts such as "community ties" have been neglected because our "zeal for empirical results has not been matched with equal devotion to conceptual analysis" (4).

In an attempt to untangle this conceptual quandary, Stamm and Fortini-Campbell proposed a definition of community which included the three most prevalent components found among the 94 definitions. These were: 1) communities as places (with geographical boundaries); 2) communities as structures (social institutions and organizations--public and private, formal and informal); and, 3) communities as social process (reflecting "shared interest" and "common endeavor") (Stamm and Fortini-Campbell 1983, 5).

They defined the concept of "tie" as "a product of behavior" resulting from the "bridging" of the "gap" between individual and community (4). Four possible kinds of ties were identified: 1) spatial; 2) cognitive; 3) affective; and, 4) communicative. Therefore, working from their three-pronged definition of community (as place, structure, or process), they proposed that "existing concepts such as (community) identification, attachment, involvement, etc.," can be conceptually differentiated by referring to linkages between a specific kind of tie to a particular aspect of "community" (7-11).

In this way, for instance, Stamm and Fortini-Campbell operationalized "community identification" as a cognitive tie both to community as place, and to community as structure (Stamm and Fortini-Campbell 1983, 9; 12). Moreover, citing other studies in which respondents' ties to a community group (structure) reflected a "sense of belonging," they concluded that such identification may also contain an affective component, further postulating

that the affective dimension of individuals' identification with community--referred to as "closeness"--may appear chronologically later than cognitive identification (9-10).

Kromer's definition of "community identification" also makes reference to the presence of both cognitive and affective elements in the concept. He defines it as "individuals' sense of belonging or affiliation with their residential community, which includes all affective or cognitive attachments." Kromer also provides a definition for "community involvement" in terms of individuals' participation in community life and social interaction (Kromer 1983, as cited in Collins-Jarvis 1991, 13).

In a later study, Jeffres, Dobos and Lee (1988), drawing upon the work of Stamm and Fortini-Campbell, define "community involvement" in terms of "the 'tie' or 'link' between the individual and the community environment" which may be a cognitive link (identification), an affective link (attachment), or a behavioral link (participation in the community). They maintain that the more one is involved in the community (measured through an increase in ties), the more deeply one is integrated into the community (Jeffres, Dobos and Lee 1988, 576).

While it is obvious that the term "involvement," as used by Jeffres, Dobos and Lee, is meant as a measure of all three kinds of community ties, for the purposes of this study it will be desirable to make a distinction between "identification" and "involvement," the former including both cognitive and affective ties to community, and the latter reflecting behavioral ties or "community participation." We will consider "participation," then, to be synonymous with "involvement." Indeed, several other studies have used membership or activity in various kinds of community groups and organizations as a way of operationalizing the concept

of "participation" (Kasarda and Janowitz 1974; Stamm and Fortini-Campbell 1983; Stephens 1978, as cited in Stamm and Fortini-Campbell 1983).

The study also investigated whether relationships may exist between community ties and several demographic variables such as length of residence, education, age, occupation of the household's main wage earner, and the number of children in the household. These kinds of variables have been found to relate to community ties in many other studies of this type (Kromer 1983; Stamm and Fortini-Campbell 1983; Jeffres and Dobos 1984; Jeffres, Dobos and Sweeney 1987; Jeffres, Dobos and Lee 1988; Kasarda and Janowitz 1974; Gaziano 1984; Finnegan and Viswanath 1988).

And, finally, the concept of media use--in this case, community channel viewership--is operationalized as the frequency of exposure to community channel programming (including different types of programs, e.g., local sports, public affairs, seniors programs). This was measured through individuals' reports of the amount of time spent viewing community channel programming during the course of the week, and also incorporated other criteria similar to those used by Jamison for identifying regular or "verified" community channel viewers (as reported in Oringel and Buske 1987, 153). In this way, respondents were classified as verified community channel viewers based on time spent watching the community channel during the week and degree of exposure to, and ability to name, particular community channel programs.

3.3. HYPOTHESES

For the most part, non-directional hypotheses are used for this study, to test only associations between variables. To infer causality, an association must pre-exist between

variables. But simply having variables associated with each other is not enough to conclude that one causes the other. In other words, having an association between variables is a necessary condition to infer causality, but is not a sufficient condition. However, some hypothesized relationships involve certain types of variables for which the existence of a reciprocal relationship is not possible. For example, to hypothesize that a person's level of education will be associated with their amount of involvement in the community will necessarily entail a directional, non-reciprocal hypothesis. While it is reasonable to hypothesize that a person's level of education may predict their level of community involvement, it is not very likely that the relationship could also be the reverse. Therefore, while most of the hypotheses for this study are stated in a non-directional form to simply test for associations, a few are stated in a directional form where the nature of the variables allows this.

Most studies which have investigated the relationship between community ties and use of local community media focus on local print media for their analysis. Finnegan and Viswanath (1988), however, incorporated use of cable television (including local public affairs channels) in their study of community ties and community media use in Minnesota. They cite at least two previous studies which found "a positive association between use of newspapers and cable," and which suggest that community ties associated with newspaper use may also be associated with cable TV use (Finnegan and Viswanath 1988, 457). Although they express some skepticism over this notion, they add that "if similar relationships exist, then they likely will be found in use of local community channels of public affairs and educational content" (458). Since much of the previous empirical work which informs our hypotheses refers to

community newspaper use, we will proceed from the point of view that these two media are comparable in their relationship to community ties.

Previous viewership studies, albeit rare, suggest the existence of a fairly significant community access television audience. For instance, a survey of Windsor cable subscribers conducted in the spring of 1990 found that community channel viewers accounted for approximately 30 percent of cable households (Morris and Hildebrandt 1990). Janes' study in New Rochelle, New York, recorded a community access television viewership of 28 percent¹⁰, which he reported as being consistent with other findings by Othmer (20%) and Goss (33%) (Janes 1985, 126). Therefore, we propose:

Hypothesis 1: There will be a significant viewership of the Windsor community channel (approximately 30 percent of those surveyed).

Education as a variable merits special consideration as it can be seen as something of a double-sided indicator. It has been used as a primary measurement of socio-economic status because the level of education attained by a person will, more often than not, determine the likelihood that he or she is employed in a higher-paying position. However, while education attained may be (in most cases) a contributing factor to status achieved, it may also exert influence insofar as it indicates a person's degree of cognitive or ideological development. That is, the more education people receive, the more likely they are to be exposed to particular ideas or concepts which may colour their perception of their environment, and thus their subsequent beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours. For example, if, through the process of a

¹⁰ Based on a follow-up telephone survey which the researcher conducted in order to determine if flawed question design had been a factor in his previous mail survey's result that only 7.3 percent of those surveyed reported watching public access programming. Apparently it had been a flawed question.

university education, an individual is exposed to ideas concerning community media, he or she may be more likely to pay attention to community access television programming.

Kasarda and Janowitz found that interest "in the affairs of the local community is apparently influenced most by a person's position in the social structure." This would seem to make sense because those people who belong to a higher socio-economic level in a community would have more at stake in that community, which would naturally compel them to be more interested in the affairs of the community (Kasarda and Janowitz 1974, 335). Also among their findings was that individuals of higher status "tend to belong to more formal organizations in the community" (333). As well, Jeffres and Dobos cite the findings of Parkum and Parkum that "upper-class residents are more likely than others to participate in community action groups and to be interested in city problems" (1984, 102). We therefore propose that:

Hypothesis 2A: An individual's socio-economic status (SES) will positively predict community involvement.

Jeffres, Dobos and Sweeney found that both education and income predicted use of community newspapers (1987, 636-638) and Finnegan and Viswanath report that individuals' with at least a college education were more likely to watch local public affairs channels (1988, 461). We propose therefore that:

Hypothesis 2B: An individual's SES will positively predict viewership of the community channel.

Finnegan and Viswanath cite previous studies which claim that "length of residence and use of cable for local signals suggests the possibility that cognitive identification with the community as place may be related to a preference for local content," thus linking the

concepts of length of residence and community identity (1988, 457). In addition, other studies have found significant relationships between length of residence and both cognitive and affective ties to community (Kasarda and Janowitz 1974; Collins-Jarvis 1991). In fact, Kasarda and Janowitz unequivocally state that "whether a person feels a sense of community is clearly a function of length of residence," although there are other factors (334-335). This connection would appear to be a logical one since the longer one stays in a community, the more likely one is to establish cognitive and/or affective ties to that community. Therefore, we propose that:

Hypothesis 3: An individual's length of residence in the community will positively predict community identification.

Jeffres and Dobos propose that individuals who are "committed" to their neighbourhood are more likely to be active in neighbourhood mobilization efforts. They cite Sharp's 1981 findings that individuals join local neighbourhood organizations partly for the opportunity to express their commitment to the area (Jeffres and Dobos 1984, 100-101). Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that there may be some relation between a person's cognitive and affective ties to the community and their subsequent behavioral ties to the community.

Kasarda and Janowitz found that "membership in local formal organizations" had a significant effect on cognitive ties but very little impact on affective ties, while informal social participation had "a moderate influence" on both (336). As well Collins-Jarvis found that "individuals' community-based social interactive ties" were a positive predictor of community identification (Collins-Jarvis 1991, 37). We therefore propose that:

Hypothesis 4: Community identification will be positively related to individuals' community involvement.

Jeffres, Dobos and Lee proposed that a positive relationship exists between community ties and corresponding media use. They not only concluded that this was the case, but that the most relevant media for this relationship was local TV news (Jeffres, Dobos and Lee 1988, 580).

Finnegan and Viswanath state that the use of cable TV "may relate to community ties as ways of bridging spatial, social, political and information gaps that are common particularly in urban settings," further stating that this is more probable in the use of public affairs channels (1988, 458). Also, Stamm and Fortini-Campbell found that community ties had a significant impact upon variables of community newspaper subscribership and use (1983, 24). Therefore, we propose as a general statement of the relationship between community ties and community media use that:

Hypothesis 5: Community ties will be stronger among regular viewers of community channel programming than among non-viewers.

As for the relationship between cognitive and/or affective ties and community media use, Jeffres and Dobos report that "residents who are committed to their neighborhood are likely to seek out information that allows them to monitor their environment," and the study by Jeffres, Dobos and Sweeney concludes that "newspapers seem to play a part in the formation of community identification." They suggest that the causal direction of the relationship may also be reversed, as implied by the Jeffres and Dobos study (Jeffres and Dobos 1984, 100; Jeffres, Dobos and Sweeney 1987, 624).

In addition, both Kromer and Collins-Jarvis found that the most significant link in their models was that between variables measuring community newspaper use and those measuring community identification (Kromer 1983, as cited in Collins-Jarvis 1991, 14; Collins-Jarvis 1991, 47). We therefore propose that:

Sub-Hypothesis 5A: Community identification will be positively related to viewership of the community channel.

The relationship between behavioral ties and community media use has been documented in several studies as well. For instance, Finnegan and Viswanath found that those respondents who were regular readers of a community weekly newspaper were also more frequent users of local facilities as well as more likely to report membership in a local church congregation (1988, 461-463). Stamm and Fortini-Campbell found that community involvement correlated consistently with newspaper readership and that "structural and process ties explained additional variance in subscribing and readership that was not explained by ties to place" (1983, 24). That community involvement would be more directly related to community media use than such ties to place as reflected through the variable of length of residence and community identification, would also add support to the general pattern suggested by hypotheses 3 and 4. We therefore propose that:

Sub-Hypothesis 5B: Community involvement will be positively related to viewership of the community channel.

In addition, Collins-Jarvis found that measures of community involvement or participation had a significantly larger impact on community newspaper readership than did measures of community identification (1991, 43). Therefore we further propose that:

Sub-Hypothesis 5C: The relationship between community involvement and viewership of the community channel will be significantly stronger than the relationship between community identification and viewership of the community channel.

Windsor lost its local CBC news programming in December of 1990, when budget cuts were implemented. Also around that time, Cable 11 began to publish its program listings more extensively in both the Windsor Star's daily television listings and its weekly program guide. Since the community channel thus became the only source of locally originated public affairs programming available on television, we would expect, as an informal hypothesis, a slight increase in the viewership of Cable 11's local public affairs programming, perhaps most noticeable with regard to the "Community Edition" program. If such an increase is observed, two possible explanations could be offered: one is that it is a reflection of the community's desire for local information in the wake of the CBC cut-backs, and the other is that it is a consequence of Cable 11's efforts to increase the availability of its programming schedule. Therefore, should this hypothesis be supported, we would not be able to say for certain which of these factors provides a better explanation for the increase in viewership.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1. DATA COLLECTION

Data for the study was gathered through several different methods. A review of the CRTC's policy literature (including all pertinent public announcements, policy statements, etc.) provided insight into audience considerations underlying the CRTC's community channel policies and regulations. The examination of the policy literature provided the Commission's views regarding the impact community channels have on the communities they serve and the level of acceptance for community channel programming.

Audience survey data was collected by students in an introductory research methodology and design course at the University of Windsor in Windsor, Ontario. The surveys were designed by the author with Dr. Hildebrandt of the University's Department of Communication Studies. Two telephone surveys were administered: one in November, 1990 and the other in March, 1991. The sample for the first survey was based on a random selection of Windsor households listed in the city's telephone directory. A fixed single number was then added to each of the numbers selected. In this way, new and unlisted numbers could also be accessed while the sample still reflected the distribution of numbers by telephone exchange in the area.

The sample for the second survey was drawn from a random selection of cabled households in Windsor and Essex County. Phone numbers and other subscriber information were supplied by Trillium Cable Communications Limited (Cable 11) from a computer-generated list for each subscription area, thus representing a stratified random sample. For

both surveys, non-residential numbers were excluded. The November 1990 survey resulted in a final dataset of 209 completed interviews with a cross-section of Windsor households, while the March 1991 survey yielded 319 completed interviews with cable subscribers.

Because there were 30 questions common to both surveys, these datasets were merged to create a final database of 528 completed interviews. In the November 1990 survey respondents were asked a total of 40 questions. In the March 1991 survey 54 questions were asked. Altogether, and taking into consideration the questions common to both surveys, there were 64 unique questions between the two surveys.

4.2. MEASUREMENT PROBLEMS

In any survey such as the ones conducted for this study, certain kinds of measurement problems are inevitable which affect the quality of the data. For instance, measurement error will be expected to increase due to the likelihood that some of the interviews and, hence, some of the data, were fabricated. It can be expected in all likelihood, that since the interviewers were university students who were conducting the telephone interviews unsupervised, under a time constraint, and as a course assignment for credit, that some would fabricate or take other less-than-rigorous 'short cuts' in the completion of their assignment. Although a training session in telephone interviewing was conducted, not all of the students attended this session. Since this kind of measurement error is usually random (i.e., not 'conspiratorial' fabrication), it would result in lower correlations between variables.

The responses of the interviewees must also be considered as another possible source of measurement error. It is well established that respondents to telephone surveys sometimes exaggerate their responses to questions that deal with positive behaviours, and understate

responses concerning behaviours that are perceived as negative. For example, when responding to the question, "Have you heard of the Community Channel, Cable 11?" (see Appendix A) some respondents who had not heard of the channel or were at least unsure if they had, likely answered 'yes' simply because they did not wish to appear ignorant. The survey results bear this out, in fact, with some respondents who answered positively to this question clearly indicating by their responses to subsequent questions that they did not know what the community channel was.

In addition to the analysis of the CRTC's policy literature and the statistical analyses of data gathered through the telephone surveys, an interview was conducted with the programming manager of Windsor's community channel, Cable 11, to obtain his perspective on the community channel's performance and as a "reality check" on the preliminary conclusions of the study.

4.3. DATA WEIGHTING PROCEDURES

Because of the sampling procedures used and the different populations represented, it was necessary to weight the data. The purpose of the weighting procedures was threefold. First, where inferences are to be made for all cable television viewers, the data had to be weighted to reflect the true proportion of cabled households per cabled area. The sample of cabled households supplied by Trillium Cable and used in the administration of the March 1991 survey consisted of 50 cabled households from each of the cabled zones comprising Windsor and surrounding area, regardless of the actual number of cabled homes in each zone. Therefore, the number of sampled households from each area did not reflect the true

proportion of cabled households per area in the population. The weighting variable used to correct this was the result of the following formula which was applied to each area:

$$\text{Area Weight} = \frac{N_A/N_T}{n_a/n_t}$$

where, N_A = the number of cabled households per each area;
 N_T = the total number of cabled households;
 n_a = the number of cabled households per area in the sample, and;
 n_t = the total sample size.

The numerator represents the proportion of cabled households in an area to the total number of cabled households in the population, and the denominator represents the proportion of cabled households per area in the sample to the total number of households in the sample. The corrective weight was constructed by dividing for each area the population percentage by the sample percentage. The number of sampled households in each area was therefore adjusted proportional to whether it represents an oversampled or undersampled value.

Secondly, the dataset was weighted to get from a household-level sample to an individual-level sample. Since the sample was based on households (either those which subscribe to cable [March '91] or simply those with telephones [Nov. '90]), and since the number of adults per household varies, the sampling ratio is the inverse of the household size.

Recoding a few of the sample results was necessary to avoid instances where undersampling would have given exaggerated weights to a few households (this affected only two areas). The weighted sample sizes are approximately equal to the actual number of interviews in the raw samples (i.e., the unweighted sample sizes).

Thirdly, because two separate data sets were involved in the study--one a sample of Windsor and area households based on the phone directory, and the other a sample of

households which subscribe to cable television--weights had to be constructed to make inferences to all TV viewers; these weights were designed so that the sample would reflect the actual proportion of cable/non-cable households in the population. Since the March '91 sample contained only cable subscribers, a cumulation of the two samples into one data set without such a weight being applied would result in a disproportionately high ratio of cable to non-cable respondents.

4.4. SURVEY VARIABLES AND MEASURES

Several of the indicators used for the study were taken directly from questions asked in the survey, while others were constructed by combining responses from two or more questionnaire items. For example, the "level of education" was measured directly by the responses to the questionnaire item which asked respondents what their level of education was. However, to measure a fairly abstract concept like "community identification," for instance, one cannot simply ask respondents, "What is your level of community identification?". At this level of abstraction, terms like "community identification" will mean different things to different people, or may even mean nothing at all. Instead, one attempts to measure more explicit behaviours as indicators of the abstract concepts (such as "community identification") which underlie these behaviours. For the variables "community identification," "community involvement," and "community channel viewership," indicators were constructed from several questionnaire items as follows:

Questions to measure "community identification" included one which asked respondents if they could name the weekday City or County Council usually meets and another which asked respondents if they could name any city or county politician. A third

question asked respondents if they actively followed local Windsor sports teams, and if so, which ones. The first two questions are meant to tap cognitive ties, while the third is meant to tap cognitive or cognitive-affective ties.

To measure "community involvement," respondents were asked if they were active members of any community groups or organizations (ethnic groups, political organizations, service clubs, etc.), whether they had "attended any meetings of local government or other public boards or committees" during the past year, and also whether they had "ever watched a City or County Council meeting on TV or in person."

The responses to the questions measuring community identification and community involvement were recoded into dichotomies, and a scale was constructed for each concept by counting and adding only the pro-identification or pro-involvement responses to the three variable items which comprise the respective scales. For the scale "community involvement," the reliability analysis among the scale items resulted in an alpha of only .37. All three items for this scale correlated significantly (two at the .001 level), but no correlation was higher than .25. For the scale "community identification," the reliability analysis indicated an alpha of .40, with only two of the scale items correlating significantly (although at the .001 level), but the highest correlation being only .38.

To measure "community channel viewership," an indicator was constructed by counting and adding specified responses which measured exposure to Cable 11, so that the newly constructed variable is an additive index for that particular concept. The variable added pro-community channel responses from the four questionnaire items which measured community channel viewership.

The first two component variables of this indicator are based upon responses to a list of ten community channel programs for which respondents were asked if they had "heard of" each program, if they had "ever watched" it, and if they had "watched this week." The first variable counted those who had at least "ever watched" (including those who had "watched this week"), while the second variable counted only those who reported they had "watched this week."

The other two component variables of the community channel viewership index are dichotomized versions of questions which asked if respondents could name any Cable 11 program they watched at least once in a while, and how many minutes they had watched Cable 11 during the previous week. The community channel viewership index adds only positive ("YES") responses from these four variables. Thus, the values for this variable range from a score of "0", indicating no positive response to any of the four viewership variables, to a score of "4", indicating a positive response to all four viewership variables. In this way the indicator provides a spectrum of Cable 11 viewers, from those whom we call "non-viewers" to those whom we call "very devoted" viewers of the channel (see Table 1).

Table 1: Degree of Cable 11 Viewership.

DEGREE OF CABLE 11 VIEWERSHIP		
	#	%
Non-Viewer	118	22.2
Minimally Devoted	66	12.4
Somewhat Devoted	49	9.2
Quite Devoted	27	5.1
Very Devoted	20	3.7
TOTAL	532	100.0

It should be noted that the component variables of this indicator were survey items which were only asked of those respondents who reported they had heard of the community channel, Cable 11. This comprised approximately three-quarters (73.8%) of the overall sample.

The community channel viewership index itself was used in the construction of another viewership variable. This viewership variable consists of three categories, with the first category representing those in the sample who did not subscribe to cable television (n=252); the second, those who were subscribers but who did not watch Cable 11 (n=118); and the third, cable subscribers who did watch Cable 11 (n=162). Each category, therefore, represents a greater degree of, or potential for, exposure to community channel programming.

Where variables were at nominal or ordinal level measurements, crosstabulations were used to test the hypotheses. The chi square based statistic Cramer's V was used to measure the strength of the association between these variables. Cramer's V can attain a value of 1 for tables of any size.

Where the dependent variable was at the ordinal or interval level of measurement, means analyses were performed. The strength of associations between these variables was measured by eta. Like Cramer's V, eta can achieve a value of 1. Both Cramer's V and eta have to be interpreted in relative terms, comparing the strength of different relationships.

Where both independent and dependent variables were at the interval level (such as years of education or length of residence), regression analysis was used to make full use of the information provided by this level of measurement. Dichotomized variables can be used in such analyses as "dummy" variables where the variable reflects the presence or absence of the concept being measured (e.g., cable subscribers vs. non-subscribers).

Section Two:

PERFORMANCE

CHAPTER V

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

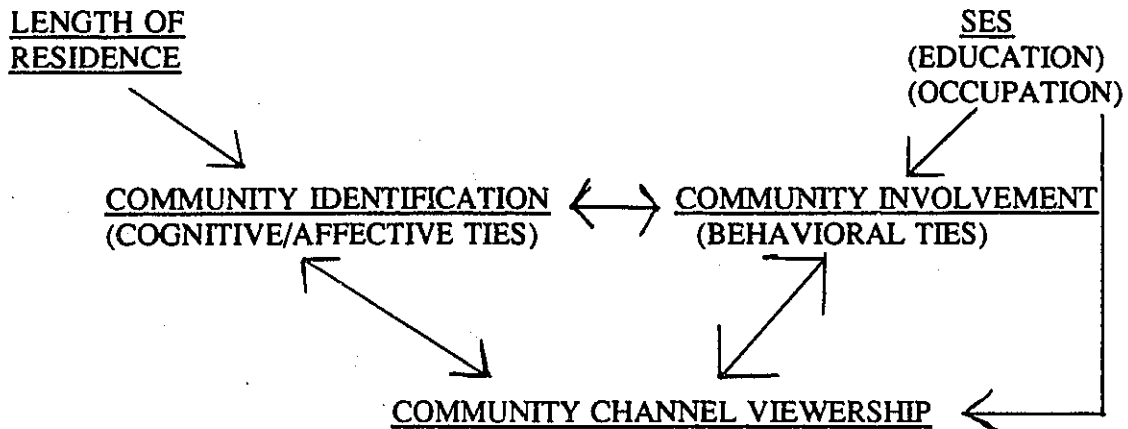
5.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter will examine the relationships between community channel viewership, community ties, and various other demographic variables. The analysis will be based on probability sampling assumptions in order that inferences can be made from the characteristics of the sample to those of the population from which it was drawn, i.e., television viewers or cable subscribers in Windsor.

As stated in Chapter 4, mostly non-directional hypotheses are used for this study to test associations between variables. However, some hypothesized relationships involve variables which may be reciprocally related. Due to methodological considerations (cross-sectional data, lack of exogenous variables) tests of reciprocal relationships are not possible. Therefore, most of the following analyses test non-directional hypotheses, but in a few cases the nature of the variables suggests directional, or causal, conclusions.

Figure 1 presents the variables which were analyzed, and their hypothesized relationships to one another. The varying sizes of the arrow heads represent the relative strengths of the association expected between two variables; the larger the arrow head, the stronger the expected association. The presence of an arrow head on each end of a line indicates a non-directional relationship and a single arrow head indicates a relationship where the nature of the variables suggests causality.

Figure 1: Variables: Community Ties and Community Channel Viewership.



5.2. COMMUNITY CHANNEL VIEWERSHIP

Hypothesis 1 stated that "there will be a fairly significant viewership of the Windsor community channel (approximately 30 percent of those surveyed)." Table 2 presents the extent of community channel viewership.

As Table 2 shows, just over 30 percent of the entire sample were community channel viewers of some degree. However, since those without cable (n=252, 47.4 percent) obviously have no opportunity to be community channel viewers, it is more appropriate to look only at those respondents who were cable subscribers, and thus potential community channel viewers.

Table 2: Viewership of Cable 11.

DEGREE OF Cable 11 VIEWERSHIP	All			Cable Only		Cable 11 Viewers Only
	#	%	%	%	%	%
No Cable	252	47.4	69.6	-	-	-
Non-Viewer	118	22.2		42.1	42.1	-
Minimally Devoted	66	12.4	30.4	23.6	57.9	40.7
Somewhat Devoted	49	9.2		17.5		30.3
Quite Devoted	27	5.1		9.8		16.9
Very Devoted	20	3.7		7.0		12.1
TOTAL (n)	(532)	100.0	100.0	100.0 (280)	100.0	100.0 (162)

Cable subscribers constituted 52.6 percent of the sample (n=280). From the "Cable Only" column of Table 2, then, we see that 57.9 percent of all cable subscribers in the sample were community channel viewers, using the most liberal definition of community channel viewing.

Since Hypothesis 1 stated that there would be a "fairly significant" viewership of the Windsor's community channel of "approximately 30 percent of those surveyed," this result supports Hypothesis 1. Moreover, even if we exclude those respondents who were classified as only "minimally devoted" community channel viewers, this leaves 34.3 percent of cable subscribers who were deemed at least "somewhat devoted" community channel viewers, thus still supporting the hypothesis.

As an informal hypothesis, it was expected that viewership of Cable 11's public affairs programs and the "Community Edition" news program in particular would increase slightly as a possible consequence of the loss of local CBC television news programming which left Cable 11 as the only source of local television news and public affairs programming.

Table 3: Exposure to Cable 11 programs for 1990 and 1991.

PROGRAM	"HEARD OF"* (%)		"EVER WATCH"** (%)		"WATCHED THIS WEEK"*** (%)	
	1990	1991	1990	1991	1990	1991
"Community Edition"	13.0	19.2	7.0	11.0	1.0	2.1
City Council Meeting	70.0	53.2	33.0	37.2	12.0	11.4
Chamber of Commerce	20.0	31.2	5.0	16.1	1.0	2.3

* as a percentage of cable subscribers;

** "Ever Watch" and "Watched This Week" based on those who had heard of the community channel.

As Table 3 shows, the expected increase was observed in most of the indicators. For the "Community Edition" program, there was a 57 percent increase in cable subscribers who "ever watch" it--from 7.0 percent of cable subscribers who had heard of the community channel in March of 1990 to 11.0 percent in March of 1991--and a very slight increase in those who reported watching it "that week" from 1.1 percent in 1990 to 2.1 percent in 1991 (this magnitude of difference is not statistically significant, of course). The number of respondents who reported that they had "ever watched" Cable 11's coverage of Windsor City Council or Essex County Council meetings also increased slightly from 33 percent in 1990 to 37.2 percent in 1991. However, the percentage of people saying they had "heard of" this program

dropped from 70 percent to just over 50 percent, while the percentage watching it that week remained virtually stable (12 percent vs. 11.4 percent).

The percentage of respondents who had heard of the "Chamber of Commerce" program rose by over 50 percent, from 20 percent in 1990 to 31.2 percent in 1991. Viewership of this program increased quite substantially as well. While only five percent had ever watched the program in 1990, this figure rose to just over 16 percent in 1991. One percent had reported watching the "Chamber of Commerce" program "that week" in 1990, while 2.3 percent reported watching that week in 1991.

Therefore, between March of 1990 and March of 1991, there was a virtual across-the-board increase in the percentage of cable subscribers who tuned into Cable 11's informational and public affairs programs. This not only supports the informal hypothesis, but goes beyond its expectations of a "slight increase" in the viewership of Cable 11's local public affairs programming, since some of the observed increases were fairly substantial. Viewership of Windsor City Council coverage increased by over 15 percent, while viewership of the "Community Edition" program increased by 57 percent.

It cannot be said for certain that this increase in viewership of community cable public affairs programming is attributable to the community's hunger for local information after the loss of Windsor's local CBC news programming in December of 1990; perhaps the increase is a simple consequence of the greater availability of Cable 11's programming schedule which after this date was published more extensively in both the Windsor Star's daily television listings and its weekly program guide.

5.3. SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

As discussed previously, education has been used as a primary measurement of socio-economic status because the level of education attained by a person will often be reflected in a person's occupational status. However, while education and occupation may overlap in this way, education may also act as a cognitive indicator, a reflection of a person's intellectual development. That is, the more education a person receives, the more likely he or she is to be exposed to particular ideas or concepts and develop the capacity to understand certain connections within their environment.

Table 4 presents the results of the crosstabulations between respondents' occupational status and the variables measuring community involvement. The "occupation" variable was set up as an ordinal measurement of respondents' occupations based on the general categories of "blue collar" and "white collar," with the latter being subdivided into the "professional" and "non-professional" categories. Community Involvement is measured through the three dichotomous variables measuring whether or not the respondent was a member of any community groups; whether they attended any local meetings of government committees or public boards in the last year; and whether they had ever watched a City Council meeting on television or in person.

Table 4 indicates that for the first two community involvement components--"Membership in Community Group" and "Attend Local Meetings"--there is a gradual increase in pro-community responses as occupational status increases. In other words, there are positive relationships between respondents' occupational status and their membership in community groups (Chi Square=8.4; sig=.0147), as well as their attending local meetings (Chi Square=6.0; sig=.0498).

However, the Cramer's V statistics for these two crosstabulations show that in both cases, the relationship is not particularly strong (.16 and .13, respectively). The crosstabulation between occupational status and the variable "Watch City Council" was found not to be statistically significant, although a sizable gap exists between "Blue Collar" and "White Collar" occupations.

Table 4: Community Involvement by Occupation.

Occupation	Member of Community Group (%)	Attend Local Meetings (%)	Watch City Council (%)	Scale Mean (INVOLV)
Blue Collar	18.9	15.5	45.6	.80
White Collar/ Non-Professional	31.2	22.6	56.3	1.1
White Collar/ Professional	33.6	27.4	54.8	1.2
Total for Sample	27.1	21.7	51.3	1.0
Chi Square/ significance	8.4/ .0147	6.0/ .0498	3.2/ .2067	F = 6.0 sig = .0028
Cramer's V	.16	.13	.10	eta=.18

The scales for community involvement (and community identification below) were created as additive scales. These scales were constructed by collecting and adding the responses from the three variables used to measure the respective concepts. Therefore, the possible values of each scale may range from a "0" (no pro-community response on any of the three variables) to a value of "3" (a pro-community response on all three of the

component variables). The means analysis gives the performance of the community involvement scale for each level of the independent variable--in this case, occupation.

The final column of Table 4 shows that the means analysis between occupational status and the community involvement scale also indicates a positive relationship between these two variables ($F=6.0$; $\text{sig}=.0028$), or, in other words, the mean level of community involvement increases as occupational status increases. With a value for eta of only .18, however, the relationship is not a very strong one.

Table 5 presents the results of the crosstabulations and means analysis between respondents' level of education and community involvement.

Table 5: Community Involvement by Education.

Education	Member of Community Group (%)	Attend Local Meetings (%)	Watch City Council (%)	Scale Mean (INVOLV)
Grade School	20.9	1.4	49.2	.71
Some High School	31.3	17.1	44.0	.92
High School	15.5	12.2	51.1	.79
Some University	31.1	22.1	42.9	.96
University Graduate	38.3	24.1	61.1	1.2
Total	27.8	17.3	49.9	.95
Chi Square/ Sig.	19.0/ .0008	16.0/ .003	9.9/ .043	$F = 5.1$ $\text{sig}=.0005$
Cramer's V	.19	.18	.14	$\text{eta}=.19$

All three community involvement variables show statistically significant relationships with educational level. None of these relationships is particularly strong, however. "Watch City Council" displays a slightly weaker relationship with educational level (Cramer's $V=.14$) than the first two variables with near identical values for Cramer's V of .19 and .18. The means analysis for the community involvement scale confirms the presence of a positive, though fairly weak relationship with education ($F=5.1$, $\text{sig}=.0005$; $\eta^2=.19$).

The results displayed in Tables 4 and 5 support Hypothesis 2A, that SES positively predicts community involvement. Because it is not reasonable to imagine that the degree of community involvement affects a person's educational level, we can characterize the relationship as a directional one. Although neither of the SES variables displays a very strong relationship with community involvement, the association is slightly stronger for educational level than for occupational status, perhaps indicating that the cognitive aspect of the education variable comes into play here more than the 'status' aspect related with occupation.

Of the three community involvement variables, "Attend Local Meetings" displayed the weakest association with occupational status, barely registering a significant level of probability ($\text{sig}=.0498$). Watching City Council meetings had the weakest relationship with educational level, and displayed no relationship at all with occupational status. This is perhaps not surprising since this variable is more passive in nature than either being a member of a community group or attending local meetings, which are more closely related to the active nature of the concept of community involvement. The fact that this variable was related only to education and not to occupation may also reflect the notion of the cognitive aspect of education. That is, perhaps it reflects more an intellectual interest in the

proceedings of the City Council and the issues addressed there, than it does any status-oriented concerns.

But overall, the notion that those of a higher socio-economic status would exhibit a greater degree of community involvement would seem to make sense, since, as others have pointed out, these individuals are often not only best equipped to take part, but also the ones with most at stake and with most vested in the community, being more likely to be property owners, landlords, business people, etc.

5.4. SES AND COMMUNITY CHANNEL VIEWERSHIP

Table 6 presents the results of the crosstabulations between community channel viewership and the SES variables occupation and education, as well as other demographic variables. The results of the analyses presented in Table 6 indicate first, that cable penetration is quite uniform across the population, except perhaps with regard to length of residence, and second, that there is no relationship between community channel viewership and any of the SES or demographic variables included in this table. Therefore, Hypothesis 2B, which stated that "an individual's SES will positively predict viewership of the community channel," is not supported. The table further shows that there is no relationship between watching the community channel and any of the several other demographic variables: gender, belonging to a "union household," or length of residence in Windsor, although the last comes closest.

These findings run contrary to those of Jeffres, Dobos and Sweeney who found that use of community newspapers was predicted by both education and income (1987, 636-638), as well as Finnegan and Viswanath's findings that individuals' with at least college education were more likely to watch local public affairs channels on television (1988, 461).

Table 6: Community Channel Viewership by SES.

Variable	Cable Penetration (% cable subscribers among groups) ^(a)	Cable 11 Viewership (% among cable sub's) ^(b)	Cable 11 Viewers	
			Chi Sq/ Sig.	Cramer's V
<u>OCCUPATION</u>				
Blue Collar	49.0	50.0	.08/ .9631	.02
White Collar/ Non-Profess'l	38.0	51.3		
White Collar/ Professional	49.4	48.3		
<u>EDUCATION</u>				
Grade School	49.7	55.6	3.0/ .5521	.11
Some High School	35.0	59.3		
High School	58.5	57.8		
Some Univ.	43.6	47.4		
Graduate	44.9	46.1		
<u>GENDER</u>				
Male	47.2	53.1	.01/ .9253	.01
Female	48.2	53.7		
<u>UNION HSHLD</u>				
Yes	45.3	51.4	.26/ .6131	.03
No	49.2	54.6		
<u>LENGTH OF RESIDENCE</u>				
<1 - 5	65.0	59.0	5.42/ .2472	.23
6-10	39.3	54.5		
11-28	44.1	73.3		
Over 28	28.1	88.9		
Entire Life*	57.1	52.3		

(a) These are the % of cable subscribers for each group;

(b) the % of viewers for each group; these don't sum to 100%.

* Note that the "entire life" group does not reflect the absolute length of residence, and therefore does not actually belong at one extreme of the variable.

5.5. COMMUNITY IDENTIFICATION AND LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

Hypothesis 3 stated that "an individual's length of residence in the community will positively predict community identification." Table 7 presents the results of the crosstabulations between the variables "length of residence" and those measuring community identification, as well as the means analysis of the community identification scale for length of residence.

Table 7: Community Identification by Length of Residence.

Residence in Windsor (yrs)	Know Weekday Council Meets (%)	Name a City/ County Politician (%)	Follow Local Sports Teams (%)	Scale Mean (COMMID)
<1 - 5	11.7	40.0	30.0	.82
6-10	25.0	67.9	7.1	1.0
11-28	35.9	67.6	16.2	1.2
Over 28	57.1	85.9	48.4	1.9
Entire Life *	33.8	67.5	38.1	1.4
Total	33.9	66.5	33.3	1.3
Chi Sq/ Sig.	13.6/ .0087	13.8/ .008	12.4/ .0147	F=5.5 sig=.0003
Cramer's V	.26	.26	.24	eta=.31

* See note in Table 6.

Table 7 indicates that there is a relationship between a respondent's length of residence, and each of the measurements of community identification, namely: awareness of

the weekday Windsor City Council meets (chi square=13.6; sig.=.0087); ability to name a local Windsor or Essex county politician (chi square=13.8; sig.=.008); and whether respondents follow local sports teams (chi square=12.4; sig.=.0147). The relative strength of these relationships is essentially equal, with Cramer's V values ranging from .24 to .26, indicating that they are moderate relationships.

While the figures in this table indicate that the direction of these relationships can be characterized as being positive overall, a discrepancy in this pattern can be seen for the variables "Know Weekday Council Meets" and "Name a City/County Politician," occurring for those respondents who had lived in the Windsor area their entire life. This may be because "entire life" is more of a qualitative category, representing those respondents of all ages who have lived in the Windsor area all their life, or at least since early childhood. That is, while the other categories measure residence in years--an absolute measure--"entire life" is a relative measure. Therefore its placement at the end of the length of residence variable does not necessarily reflect the nature of this category.

The means analysis for the community identification scale confirms the pattern of the first two component variables, with a similar drop-off for the "entire life" group. The results of the means analysis also show that there is a positive relationship between length of residence and community identification ($F=5.5$; sig.=.0003; $\eta^2=.31$).

Therefore, the results presented in Table 7 support Hypothesis 3, that an individual's length of residence positively affects community identification. The confirmation of this hypothesis makes intuitive sense since the longer one lives in a community, the more likely one is to develop a sense of belonging or identification with the community.

5.6. COMMUNITY IDENTIFICATION AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Hypothesis 4 stated that community identification would be positively related to an individual's community involvement. Looking at Table 8, we see that this is indeed the case for all the correlations between the community identification and community involvement component variables, with the exception of following local sports teams, which is not significantly correlated with any of the community identification variables.

Of the correlations that are significant, all except one are highly significant at the .001 level of probability. However, none of these correlations is very strong; the strongest being that between awareness of the weekday City Council meetings are held and watching City Council meetings (.2557)--a correlation that would be expected--and the weakest (but still

Table 8: Correlations of Community Involvement and Community Identification Variables.

Involvement ->	Member of Community Group	Attend Local Meetings	Watch City Council
Identification			
Know Weekday Council Meets	.1697**	.2194**	.2557**
Name City/ County Politician	.1660**	.1073*	.1918**
Follow Local Sports Teams	-.0500	.0259	.0549

n=518 1-tailed Signif: * =.01; ** =.001

significant) being between the ability to name a local politician and attendance at local meetings (.1073) (perhaps people who attend local meetings do so not for politicians'

performances, but out of concern for their own interests and stakes in the community). The correlation between the two scales of involvement in and identification with the community is .2867, which is statistically significant at better than $p=.001$.

Therefore, the results presented in Table 8 generally support Hypothesis 4, since most of the correlations are positive, but this support must be tempered by the fact that these correlations are not very strong. However, it would seem reasonable that a one's cognitive ties with the community (identification) would also be related to one's involvement in the community, and perhaps vice versa.

5.7. COMMUNITY CHANNEL VIEWERSHIP AND COMMUNITY TIES

The community channel viewership variable consists of three categories; first, people who did not subscribe to cable television; second, subscribers who do not watch Cable 11, and third, cable subscribers who do watch Cable 11. This variable reflects an ordinal level of measurement, with each category representing a greater degree of, or potential for, exposure to the community channel, Cable 11.

Table 9 presents the results of the crosstabulations and means analyses between community channel viewership and the community identification variables. According to Table 9, there is a relationship between community channel viewership and all three community identification variables; the strongest association being with respondents' ability to name a local Windsor or Essex County politician (chi square=24.4; sig.=0000; Cramer's $V=.21$), followed by respondents' awareness of the weekday City or County Council meets (chi square=19.6; sig.=.0001; Cramer's $V=.19$), and finally, whether or not respondents follow local sports teams (chi square=11.6; sig.=.0031; Cramer's $V=.15$).

Table 9: Community Identification by Community Channel Viewership: Full Sample and Cable Subscribers Only.

Community Channel Viewership	Know Weekday Council Meets (%)	Name a City/ County Politician (%)	Follow Local Sports Teams (%)	Scale Mean (COMMID)
No Cable	41.6	75.7	27.2	1.44
Cable Subscriber/ Non-viewer	18.8	50.5	31.6	1.01
Cable Subscriber/ Cable 11 Viewer	39.8	65.6	43.9	1.48
Total	36.0	67.6	32.4	1.35
Chi Sq/ Sig.	19.6/ .0001	24.4/ .0000	11.6/ .0031	F=10.5 sig=.0000
Cramer's V	.19	.21	.15	eta=.20

Statistics for Cable Subscribers Only:

Chi Sq/ Sig.	13.1/ .0003	5.9/ .0148	4.0/ .0459	F=16.7 sig=.0001
Cramer's V	.23	.15	.13	eta=.25

Curiously, the greatest degree of community identification was observed for two of the three component variables in respondents without cable television. Non-subscribers also had virtually the same mean score on the community identification scale as community channel viewers (1.44 vs. 1.48 respectively). Since non-subscribers have no opportunity to watch the community channel, the statistics were recalculated using only cable subscribers,

in order to assess the difference due to watching the channel among those who have the opportunity to do so.¹¹

The bottom two panels of the table present the statistics for cable subscribers only. Comparing the means analyses for the community identification scale, the value of η^2 increases from .20 to .25 when we consider cable subscribers only, indicating a stronger relationship between community channel viewership and community identification. However, considering that the possible values of the scale range from "0" to "3", a mean level of community identification for all community channel viewers of 1.48 indicates that even though the degree of community identification was significantly higher for community channel viewers than for non-viewers, it is still not very high overall.

This supports Hypothesis 5A, that community identification is positively related to viewership of the community channel. More Cable 11 viewers gave pro-community identification responses than did non-viewers. This was also the case with the community identification scale, where the results show that community channel viewers had a higher mean level of community identification than did non-viewers. All of these results were statistically significant and of similar magnitude as those obtained when non-subscribers were included.

Table 9 also shows that the presence of those who do not subscribe to cable television has an effect, although not a consistent one, on the strength of the relationship between community channel viewership and community identification.

¹¹ In Windsor, cable TV is not available in all areas. Not being a subscriber could therefore be due to the non-availability of cable, or to a decision not to subscribe. In the surveys, those who did not subscribe to cable television gave various reasons for not doing so. Most of these people said either that it cost too much, that they had enough television already, or that they simply didn't watch much television.

Looking at the first variable, "Know Weekday Council Meets," we see that when the analysis includes those without cable, we obtain a significant relationship (chi square=19.6; sig.=.0001), though not a very strong one (Cramer's $V=.19$). When we consider cable subscribers only, however, we obtain a slightly stronger relationship (Cramer's $V=.23$).

For the variable "Name a City/County Politician," on the other hand, when we include those without cable, we get a chi square value of 24.4 at a very significant level of probability (.0000) and a Cramer's V of .21. When we consider cable subscribers only, the chi square value drops to 5.9 with a lower, although still significant, probability (.0148), and a smaller Cramer's V of .15.

In some respects, people without cable appear to behave quite similarly to those who are community channel viewers, at least for the variables measuring awareness of the weekday Council meets and the ability to name a Windsor or Essex County politician. In other words, for these two variables, the "No Cable" and "Cable 11 Viewer" categories are fairly similar in magnitude. 41.6 percent of respondents without cable and 39.8 percent of Cable 11 viewers were able to correctly provide the day on which Council meetings are held, compared to only 18.8 percent of cable subscribers who did not watch Cable 11. Similarly, three-quarters (75.7 percent) of those without cable and almost two-thirds (65.6 percent) of Cable 11 viewers could name a Windsor or Essex County politician, compared to just over half (50.5 percent) of cable subscribers who were not community channel viewers.

This "No Cable" effect does not affect the "Follow Local Sports" variable, however, which displays a gradual increase in the percentage of respondents who follow local teams for each ascending level of the community channel viewership variable, probably due simply to the exclusive availability of local sports coverage on cable, and especially on Cable 11.

It may be that those without cable and those who are community channel viewers behave similarly on some measures precisely because they share similar degrees of community identification, or community-mindedness; perhaps the former express this by going out and being active in the community instead of watching (community) cable television, while the identification of the latter takes the form of interest in the community programming offered on Cable 11.

Table 10 presents the parallel analyses for community channel viewership and community involvement. We see the same pattern for the first two variables and for the community involvement scale as we saw in Table 9, with the "No Cable" category registering much the same type of response as the "Cable 11 viewer" category, while the "non-viewer" category is somewhat lower than both of these. As in Table 9, with each increasing level of community channel viewership, more people watch City Council, probably because City Council meetings are only carried on Cable 11.

Both the "City Council" and the "Member of Community Group" relationships are statistically significant (chi square=11.8: sig=.0028 and chi square=48.4: sig=.0000, respectively), while attendance at local meetings does not vary significantly by viewership (chi square=4.5: sig=.1038). Also, the relationship between watching City Council and community channel viewership (Cramer's $V=.30$) is quite a bit stronger than is the relationship between community channel viewership and being a member of a community group (Cramer's $V=.15$). This should probably not be surprising since, apart from attending personally, watching Cable 11 is the only way that these meetings can be seen. The means analysis confirms that there is a relationship between community channel viewership and the community involvement scale ($F=7.8$: sig=.0005; $\eta^2=.17$).

Table 10: Community Involvement by Community Channel Viewership: Full Sample and Cable Subscribers Only.

Community Channel Viewership	Member of Community Group (%)	Attend Local Meetings (%)	Watch City Council (%)	Scale Mean (INVOLV)
No Cable	33.0	19.4	38.8	.91
Cable Subscriber/ Non-viewer	16.2	10.7	49.2	.76
Cable Subscriber/ Cable 11 Viewer	26.2	18.4	75.4	1.18
Total	27.6	17.2	50.4	.95
Chi Sq/ Sig.	11.8/ .0028	4.5/ .1038	48.4/ .0000	F=7.8 sig=.0005
Cramer's V	.15	.09	.30	eta=.17

Statistics for Cable Subscribers Only:

Chi Sq/ Sig.	3.7/ .0555	2.9/ .0887	18.4/ .0000	F=17.5 sig=.0000
Cramer's V	.12	.11	.27	eta=.26

When the "No Cable" group is again excluded (bottom two panels of Table 10) in order to look only at cable subscribers, a significant relationship remains between community channel viewership and watching City Council (chi square=18.4; sig=.0000; Cramer's V=.27), but the other two relationships are no longer significant, although "Member of Community Group" is very close to an acceptable level of probability (sig=.0555).

The means analysis for cable subscribers only shows that the relationship between community channel viewership and community involvement is even stronger ($\eta^2=.26$) than when we included the non-cable respondents ($\eta^2=.17$).

Overall, we can conclude that the results presented in Table 10 generally support Hypothesis 5B, which stated that community involvement would be positively related to viewership of the community channel. Since both sub-hypotheses 5A and 5B are supported, we can conclude that the data also support the more general Hypothesis 5, that community ties would be stronger among community channel viewers than among non-viewers, especially when non-subscribers are excluded from the analysis.

Hypothesis 5C stated that "the relationship between community involvement and viewership of the community channel will be significantly stronger than the relationship between community identification and viewership of the community channel."

This hypothesis is tested in Table 11, which summarizes the relationships between the community identification and involvement scales and community channel viewership from the previous tables, first for the whole sample, and then for cable subscribers only.

Both community identification and community involvement consistently display a relationship with community channel viewership, whether we consider the entire sample, or just cable subscribers.

For the entire sample, the relationship is slightly stronger between community channel viewership and community identification ($\eta^2=.20$) than it is with community involvement ($\eta^2=.17$). Considering only cable subscribers, both relationships are stronger and essentially equal (η^2 's of .25 and .26).

Table 11: Community Identification and Community Involvement for All and for Cable Subscribers Only.

Community Channel Viewership	All (means)		Cable Only (means)	
	IDENTIF (5A)	INVOLV (5B)	IDENTIF (5A)	INVOLV (5B)
No Cable	1.44	.91	--	--
Cable Subscriber/ Non-Viewer	1.01	.76	1.01	.76
Cable Subscriber/ Cable 11 Viewer	1.48	1.18	1.48	1.18
TOTAL	1.35	.95	1.26	.98
F value/ Sig.	10.5/ .0000	7.8/ .0005	16.7/ .0001	17.5/ .0000
eta	.20	.17	.25	.26

Since we are concerned here with community channel viewership, we should base our conclusions more on the analysis of cable subscribers only, and we must conclude that these results do not support Hypothesis 5C.

Table 12 also illustrates the relationship between community involvement and identification and community channel viewership. We can see from Table 12 that among Cable 11 viewers the highest scores on both the community identification and community involvement scales ("3" and "2+3") occur much more frequently than among non-viewers; and the latter are twice as likely to register no community involvement or identification at all. The differences are clearly significant (chi square=18.4: sig=.0004 and chi square=16.2: sig=.0010). We also see from Table 12 that community involvement and community

identification display relationships with viewership that are virtually equal (Cramer's V's of .27 and .25 respectively).

Table 12: Community Ties by Community Channel Viewership (Cable Only).

COMMUNITY CHANNEL VIEWERSHIP	COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT (%)			COMMUNITY IDENTIFICATION (%)		
	(0)	(2+3)	(3)	(0)	(2+3)	(3)
Non-viewer	42.4	15.1	3.0	31.3	27.2	4.5
Cable 11 Viewer	19.4	30.8	6.6	16.7	47.5	16.7
Total	30.1	23.5	4.9	23.5	38.2	11.1
Chi Sq/ Sig.	18.4/ .0004			16.2/ .0010		
Cramer's V	.27			.25		

That community involvement did not prove to have a stronger relationship with community channel viewing than did community identification may be explained by the previous discussion of the results in Table 9. Perhaps those with more community involvement are busy actively participating in community endeavours and don't have the time to watch much television at all, while those who display greater cognitive ties to community are not so "active."

5.8. REGRESSION ANALYSIS

Regression analyses were performed on some of the interval level variables in the data set in order to look at the full model of the variables used in our analyses, and to estimate the incremental effect of community channel viewership when the other known predictors of

community involvement and community identification are taken into account. A regression model attempts to measure how much variability in the dependent variables can be explained by the independent variables. Table 13 presents the results of the regression procedures predicting the community involvement and community identification scales, using a variety of independent variables which can be hypothesized to affect community involvement and community identification.¹²

Table 13: Predicting Community Involvement and Identification.*

Variable	Community Involvement			Community Identification		
	B	Beta	Sig	B	Beta	Sig
Newspaper Readers	-.0811	-.0441	.3971	-.2357	-.1195	.0202
Education	.0577	.1316	.0116	.0559	.1191	.0203
Length of Residence	-.0017	-.0702	.1747	.0038	.1510	.0032
Cable	.0037	.0021	.9748	-.2919	-.1534	.0201
Political Interest	.2885	.2988	.0000	.2699	.2608	.0000
Cable 11 Viewing	.3353	.1646	.0123	.4157	.1904	.0033

* Regression based on pairwise deletion of missing values.

Overall R = .3792
R Square = .1438
Sig.(F) = .0000

Overall R = .4116
R Square = .1694
Sig. (F) = .0000

¹² Pairwise regression analysis was chosen over listwise analysis so that the few variables with more missing data would not cause such a dramatic reduction in cases available for the analysis.

As Table 13 indicates, the variables which proved to be significantly related to community involvement were education, political interest and community channel viewership. The political interest variable was a measure of respondents' reported level of interest in local politics, on a scale from 1 to 4, where 1 was "not at all interested" and 4 was "very interested."

Political interest displays the strongest relationship with community ties. This would seem to be a reasonable result, as it would be expected that interest in local politics should be related to community identification and community involvement. Cable 11 viewership displays the second strongest standardized Beta coefficient ($Beta=.16$) after political interest, while among the remaining variables only education has a significant impact.

All the independent variables listed proved to be related to community identification, with Cable 11 viewership once more registering the second strongest relationship ($Beta=.19$), again following political interest ($Beta=.26$).

The results of the regression analyses serve to substantiate the earlier findings of a relationship between community channel viewership and community ties (Hypothesis 5 and Sub-Hypotheses 5A and 5B). The stronger Beta coefficient for the relationship with community identification also confirms the rejection of Hypothesis 5C, which had expected the stronger relationship to be with community involvement. The significance of these regression results is that they demonstrate that the associations found through the earlier bivariate analyses are not spurious, since Cable 11 viewing maintains an impact even after other variables are controlled for.

The regression analyses also substantiate the previous results that showed support for Hypothesis 2A, where education and community involvement were found to be positively

related ($B=.0577$; $\text{sig}=.0116$), and Hypothesis 3, that length of residence will positively predict community identification ($B=.0038$; $\text{sig}=.0032$). Also, if we look at the independent variable measuring cable subscription ("Cable"), we see that it is not related to community involvement ($B=.0037$; $\text{sig}=.9748$), and is negatively related to community identification ($B=-.2919$; $\text{sig}=.0201$), once other variables are included. Given that community channel viewership is related to both dependent variables, this further demonstrates that community channel viewers exhibit stronger community ties than cable subscribers who are not community channel viewers.

5.9. DISCUSSION

The preceding data analyses have yielded the following central findings:

- 1) the support for Hypothesis 1 and the informal hypothesis would suggest that there does exist a "significant" viewership of Windsor's community channel, Cable 11, amounting to almost 60 percent of cable subscribers surveyed; half of these may be "casual viewers," while 34.3 percent are more than "minimally devoted" community channel viewers, and;
- 2) the data's support for Hypotheses 5, 5A, 5B, and Hypothesis 6 point to a relationship between individuals' viewership of the community channel and the existence of community ties in the form of community identification and community involvement.

While the overall results generally suggest that where relationships were found to exist they were not particularly strong ones, this is true of media effects generally. However,

among the strongest relationships observed were those which involved viewership of the community channel. The crosstabulation between community channel viewership and the measure of watching City Council meetings resulted in a Cramer's V of .30, and the regression analyses resulted in Beta coefficients of .16 with community involvement and .19 with community identification.

Of the study's 10 main hypotheses, only two were not supported. Hypothesis 5C had stated that community channel viewership would be more strongly related with community involvement than with community identification. This was not found to be the case, and, in fact, some of the results suggest the opposite. And Hypothesis 2B, which had stated that socio-economic status would predict community channel viewership, was also not supported, even though SES was found to predict community involvement (Hypothesis 2A), which in turn was found to be related to community channel viewing.

There are some doubts about both the reliability and validity of some of the data. It should be recalled from Chapter 4 that the scale item reliabilities for the community identification and community involvement scales were fairly low: The alpha for the community identification scale was .40, and the community involvement scale attained an alpha of only .37. The correlations between scale items were quite low as well.

The measures of community identification and community involvement also raise some validity issues. For instance, the variable "Follow Local Sports Teams" may be suspect as a measure of community identification on face validity grounds. This variable, in fact, does seem to be the exception to the pattern on many of the analyses (see Tables 7, 9 and 10). The correlations in Table 8 may suggest this as well, since this is the only variable in the table which is not significantly correlated with any of the other factors.

While this may indicate problems with the validity of the variables used to measure community identification and community involvement, there may be other explanations for the low or negative correlations observed between some of these variables. It could be that respondents may respond positively to one of these variables, but not to another. Their positive responses to the indicators may be mutually exclusive, perhaps because most people simply are not able to follow local sports teams and attend local meetings. If there are sizable proportions able to do both or neither, and some who, for whatever reason, chose to do one or the other, then this will lead to low but positive correlations.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

Freedom of the press belongs to those who own one. The same thing applies to freedom of speech. If you don't have access to the media, all you can do is talk to yourself.

Richard Kuhns, M.D.

6.1. REVIEW OF THE STUDY'S FINDINGS

As stated in the introductory chapter, the purpose of this study was to provide data in order to examine some of the CRTC's assumptions regarding the benefits of community access programming on cable television. These assumptions inform the Commission's rationale for requiring that most cable systems in Canada provide a community channel as part of their basic service.

The policy analysis concluded that the CRTC appears to be formulating community channel policy based on these assumptions without the benefit of any formal audience research into the impact of community channel programming, or even whether there is an established or potential audience for the channel.

The "hypothesis" underlying the Commission's community channel policies is that the channel's programming acts as a catalyst for fostering community dialogue and serving local information needs. While the community channel has changed somewhat with the times (reflected in the CRTC's most recent community channel policy) the central purpose of the channel has remained the same: The Commission has consistently viewed the community channel as a medium for community expression and as a means of transforming passive

television viewers into active participants (CRTC 1975a, 8; 1991a, 4; 20). In other words, it is viewed as a catalyst for community involvement. The Commission has also maintained that community programming can "enrich community life by fostering communication among individuals and community groups" (CRTC 1971a, 17), and can "assist in the development of a community identity" (11).

The analysis of the viewership survey data found that there was an association, albeit not a very strong one, between viewership of Windsor's community channel and the presence of community ties: community channel viewers displayed higher degrees of community involvement and community identification than non-viewers. And, while one of the perennial criticisms of cable access television has been that nobody watches it, the data analysis also found that there was in fact a significant viewership of community channel programming in Windsor--almost 60 percent of cable subscribers are at least occasional viewers and 34 percent are more than "minimally devoted" viewers--and that the audience for Cable 11's community affairs and news programming had increased marginally from 1990 to 1991, either because of the closure of the local CBC television station, or as a consequence of better self-promotion on the part of Cable 11.

6.2. AUDIENCE SIZE

The extent of the audience found for Windsor's community channel is interesting in light of the debate which has surrounded the issue of audience share for community access television. While some have held that community access television is useless unless it attracts an audience, others claim that audience size is not as important for access channels as it is for conventional television, responding that its ability to appeal to smaller audiences is one

of the medium's principle advantages (Carpenter-Huffman et al. 1974, 53). Former CRTC Chairman Pierre Juneau has expressed frustration at what he characterized as the paradox wherein cable's attempts to answer those needs not met by network television were being judged "by the standards of the sector which could not deal with them" (53). And Pool and Alexander use the analogy of a public library, maintaining that even if people only make use of the channel once in a while, it is still a valuable resource for the community (1973, 66).

While it is reasonable to accept the arguments of those who say that the size of the audience for cable access television should not be judged by the same standards used to assess conventional television programming (after all, access television is designed to address the communication needs of local communities or even sub-communities, and not a mass audience), nevertheless, audience considerations cannot be thrown out the window entirely. The benefits of community access television are not realized if program producers are telecasting into a void, but only if they are addressing others in the community--the community dialogue that the CRTC and others stress. If community access television is not expected to attract as large an audience share as conventional television, then the viewership figures for Windsor's community channel are fairly impressive.

This discussion of audience size inevitably leads to a rather perplexing conundrum which is unique to community access television; one which results from the fact that the CRTC did not intend for the community channel to compete with other cable services, since it could not require cable operators to provide a service which would compete directly with their other offerings. Since other cable services compete for large shares of the audience, the community channel was therefore not designed to be popular. This part of the community channel's mandate, then, will be fulfilled best if nobody watched--an absurd and paradoxical

situation for any medium to be in, but perhaps part of the reason why the CRTC has never paid much attention to the community channel audience.

6.3. POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Since the results indicated that there is an association between community channel viewership and community ties, does this mean that the results of the study represent an affirmation of the CRTC's policies regarding the community channel?

Not necessarily. While the results demonstrate an association between individuals' viewership of the Windsor community channel and the presence of community ties, this does not necessarily support the CRTC's policy assumption that the former precedes the latter. The results do not allow us to say that community channel viewership *leads to* the development of community ties, or even that viewership *maintains* community ties. It could just as easily be argued that it is the pre-existence of community ties which leads to viewership of the channel. If this were the case, it would be analogous to community channels preaching to the converted, as opposed to fostering community ties--not what the CRTC had in mind.

We cannot therefore conclusively say whether Windsor's community channel is fulfilling its mandate, although the fact that community channel viewership was found to be associated with community ties does perhaps provide some degree of justification for community access programming efforts to continue.

But even if the results of the study had demonstrated that Windsor's community channel is fulfilling its mandate, federal public policy must be based on more extensive study

of community access television in other parts of the country to get a complete picture of the community channel's place within the broadcasting system.

One of the principal caveats in the study of community access television, and one of its endearing characteristics, is that it is a local experience (McLane 1987, 3). Various general assessments of the state of community access cable programming, both in the United States and in Canada, seem to suggest that the degree of its success or acceptance varies from community to community and from cable system to cable system (Baldwin & McVoy 1983, 95; Kellner 1990, 207). Others point out that since cable systems vary from one another--in terms of resources and in terms of commitment to community programming--this must be kept in mind when assessing the performance of community access television channels (Heeter & Greenberg 1988, 208). The variability between communities and between cable systems, therefore, makes it difficult to draw conclusions regarding federal communications policy-making.

In addition, the timing of this study, with its surveys being administered just before and after the elimination of the only other local source of television broadcasting, has ultimately proved both a blessing and a curse. While the loss of local CBC television programming between surveys provided a fortuitous opportunity to see if the public would turn to the community channel to fill the local programming void, it is difficult to say what kind of impact this might have had on the results of the study. Perhaps one of the reasons for the association found between community channel viewership and community ties was that only the most community-oriented of CBET's former audience migrated to Cable 11? While this could be interpreted as a positive sign in terms of the recent community channel policy's emphasis on providing local service where none exists, it may also imply that the community

channel was not very successful in fulfilling its mandate prior to the CBC shut-down. The question remains: Would we have found the same results if community-oriented television viewers in Windsor had a choice for local television programming. Seen in this way, the CBET closure represents a confounding variable in any attempt to assess the local community channel's viability on its own terms.

6.4. PROBLEMS AND LIMITATIONS

The telephone surveys of local cable subscribers and non-subscribers were carried out by students in an introductory research methodology course; this may necessitate some degree of caution in interpreting the reliability of the results due to the amount of measurement error which may be caused by the relative inexperience of the student interviewers.

Because of Windsor's rather unique situation--its proximity to Detroit, Michigan--the influence of American television programming on the local media environment may have to be taken into consideration. Cable 11's Regional Programming Manager, Ross Milne, points out that because Windsor and area residents can quite easily receive U.S. television broadcast signals from neighbouring Detroit, Windsor is a much more difficult place in which to sell cable television subscriptions, since the availability of American network programming is often a primary reason for subscribing to cable service (personal interview, February 7, 1991).

Janes' (1985) study found that the term "public access channel" seemed to cause confusion in his pilot survey. When it was replaced with the term "Channel 8," some results differed. While the present study consistently used the wording "the Community Channel, Cable 11" in an attempt to avoid this problem, some confusion might still exist, perhaps

mostly as a result of the public's general lack of awareness of the concept of community access television.

The review of the policy literature makes certain assumptions based on information provided by or lacking from the Commission's Public Announcements and other publications dating back to the late 1960s. It may be that the literature search was unable to provide certain types of information, such as the CRTC's research into community channel audience acceptance, either because this information simply was not released by the Commission, or because such information was released in separate documents that, over the course of several decades, tend to become scarce.

Any findings generated by the proposed study should therefore be viewed in light of the potential problems and possible limitations mentioned above.

6.5. IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

As discussed previously, one of the conundrums encountered when attempting to evaluate the performance of community access cable television involves the criteria by which it should be judged. This is the paradox over which Pierre Juneau expressed frustration, as the community channel's efforts to fulfil its mandate by programming for sometimes small, specific 'communities of interest' were being assessed by the same criteria used to judge the success of mass audience programming; namely, audience share. One must speculate whether the measurement of community channel viewership might be better served if different success criteria were adopted--criteria not based on overall audience share.

Because of the community channel's unique mandate to reach out to the community and foster community ties, perhaps its performance should be evaluated by the extent of its

reach--how many groups or interests it is able to include in active programming efforts. The criterion for success or failure would be the number and characteristics of the groups which attempt to program, regardless of the audience. The CRTC has adopted this approach in the past, although, as noted in the policy analysis, the Commission did not attempt any direct measurement of the community channel audience.

Another approach could focus on communities of interest to see if there is a connection between programmers and audiences sharing interests, even if these interests are narrow and encompass only small segments of the audience. In fact, it has been suggested by some that community access programming is most successful when programmers start out with a specific audience or community of interest in mind (Mitchell 1974, 6; Gwyn 1983, 322).

These approaches may require more in-depth investigation of the community channel audience in an attempt to gain a better perspective on the reasons for watching specific community channel programs or types of programming and a better assessment of what impact the channel is having on the lives of its viewers. This suggests a different approach from the standard data collection and sampling procedures as used in this study. Perhaps a better method would be one which includes a preliminary survey to identify community channel viewers, followed by a more in-depth and individualized investigation of such sub-samples.

APPENDIX A:

Questionnaire Sample

CABLE TV Questionnaire Winter 1991 / FALL 90 (*)

136

INTERVIEW START TIME: _____ am/pm

DATE: _____

Q1.1 Why did you decide to get CABLE TV? _____
Q1.2 _____

*Q2.1 And what do you like best about having CABLE TV now? _____
*Q2.2 _____

Q4. To keep up with international news, do you usually watch TV, listen to the radio, or read the newspaper? And how about national and provincial news, do you use TV, radio or the newspaper? And for local news, what do you use? [check one for each row]

Q4A INTERNATIONAL news ___ TV ___ Radio ___ Newspaper ___ more than 1
Q4B NATIONAL news ___ TV ___ Radio ___ Newspaper ___ more than 1
*Q4C LOCAL news ___ TV ___ Radio ___ Newspaper ___ more than 1

*Q5A. When you want to watch NATIONAL news on TV, which station or channel do you usually turn to? _____ [RECORD USING CABLE CHANNEL NUMBERS]

*Q5B. And for LOCAL news on TV, including sports and weather, which station or channel do you watch? _____ [RECORD USING CABLE CHANNEL NUMBERS]

*Q6. Do you think there is enough TV coverage of local issues? ___ YES ___ NO

Q7A What is your favorite CABLE channel, that is, which channel do you watch most frequently? _____
Q7B _____ [RECORD USING CABLE CHANNEL NUMBERS]

*Q8. And do you generally prefer American or Canadian TV programming, that is, American or Canadian TV shows? [If Resp. "can't say, both":] Which do you watch more?
___ American ___ Canadian ___ Resp. won't say

Q9. Do you think there are too few or too many programs on TV in each of the following areas: [Read and mark each area; check "ok as is" only if Resp. suggests it]

	TOO FEW	TOO MANY	[ok as is]
Q9A Sports	_____	_____	_____
B Movies	_____	_____	_____
C News and Information	_____	_____	_____
D Documentaries	_____	_____	_____
E Comedies, incl. sitcoms	_____	_____	_____
F Action/Crime shows	_____	_____	_____
G Family shows	_____	_____	_____
H Talk shows	_____	_____	_____

Q10A. As you may know, the CBC, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, announced drastic budget cuts last fall. Do you happen to know whether these cuts affected Windsor?

___ NO GO TO Q 11.1
___ YES ----> How so? _____

[IF "YES"] Q10B Has your TV watching changed as a result?

___ NO ___ YES ----> [How?] _____

Q11. How many movies per week do you watch on CABLE TV? ___ (Number) ___ None

Q12. And how many books did you read last month? ___ (Number) ___ None

*Q13. How many hours of TV do you usually watch per day, that is, after 6 p.m.? ___ hours

*Q14. And how many hours of Sports coverage did you watch last weekend? ___ hours

Q15. Do you use any of the following TV program guides: [READ & check all that apply]

- * **Q15A** ☒ PRIME TIME, the CABLE TV guide,
 * **Q15B** ☒ the TV listings in the daily newspaper,
 * **Q15C** ☒ the WINDSOR STAR's weekly guide,
 * **Q15D** ☒ TV GUIDE,
 [Don't read, but check if applicable:] ☒ no guide ☒ Other: **Q15F**

* **Q16.** Have you heard of the Community Channel, CABLE 11?

☐ YES ☐ NO ----> GO TO Q.29

Q16B. How important was CABLE 11, the Community Channel, to you as a reason for getting CABLE: [READ]

- ☐ very important
☐ fairly important
☐ not very important or
☐ not at all important

* **Q17.** Can you name any program on CABLE 11 which you watch at least once in a while?

☐ NO ☐ YES ----> Which: _____

* **Q18.** How many minutes have you watched the Community Channel, CABLE 11 during the last week? (min.) ☐ Not at all [If R. never watches, check ☐ and GO to Q.29]

Q19. Do you ever read the community announcements which run on CABLE 11 during the day? ☐ YES ☐ NO

Q20. How easy is it for you to get information about the Community Channel's programs, [read:]
☐ very easy, ☐ not that easy or ☐ quite difficult?

* **Q21.** How would you rate the value of the Community Channel, CABLE 11, to you personally? Please use a scale where 1 would be a very low value, and 5 would be a very high value! And what would be the value of CABLE 11 to this community, judging again on a scale from 1 (=very low) to 5 (= very high)?

* **GA2** Value of CABLE 11 to you personally: _____
 to the community: _____

Q21. Using the same scale from 1 (= very low) to 5 (=very high), how would you rate the reception, that is, the picture and sound quality of the Community Channel, CABLE 11?

Q22. In your view, is the Community Channel reception as good as, better than or not as good as the picture of other Cable channels?
☐ as good ☐ better ☐ not as good

Q23. Please rate how professionally done the TV shows on various networks are, that is, how well done they are. Use a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means low in professionalism (or not well done), and 5 means high in professionalism (or very well done). In your opinion how professional are the shows on

- * **Q23A** Canadian networks, like CBC, CTV _____
 * **Q23B** US networks, like ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN _____
 * **Q23C** and the Community Channel (Cable 11) _____

Q24. At present, the Community Channel only broadcasts in the evening, from 5 p.m. onward. Would you like to see the Community Channel broadcast in the morning and afternoon as well?

☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ Don't know

Q25. Would you watch the Community Channel in the morning or early afternoon?

☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ Don't know

Q26. Now I'll name a few programs which are shown on CABLE 11. Please tell me: Have you heard of the show? *(If YES:)* Do you ever watch it? Did you watch it this week?

	heard of	ever watch	watched this week
A City/County Council meetings	___	___	___
B Spitfire hockey broadcasts	___	___	___
C Dialogue (with E. Kischka)	___	___	___
D Community Edition	___	___	___
E Chamber of Commerce Show	___	___	___
F Italian Carousel/French show/ Multicultural Magazine	___	___	___
G Seniors Program	___	___	___
H Woman's World	___	___	___
I High school/Univ of W sports	___	___	___
J Sound Trax	___	___	___

Q27A. As you may know, the Community Channel, CABLE 11, cannot show movies or sitcoms. What kinds of community programs not currently on CABLE 11 would you like to see on the Community Channel?

_____ Can't think of any

Q27B. Do you know who pays for the Community Channel services? *(e.g., Subscribers, government, cable companies, advertising)*

Q28A. And do you know who does or can produce programs on the Community Channel?

Q28b. What do you LIKE about the Community Channel? _____

Q28c. What do you DISLIKE about the Community Channel? _____

ASK ALL

* Q29A Now I would like to ask a few question about our community:

* Q29B What is the most important problem facing Windsor these days, in your opinion?

_____ DK, none

* Q30. How interested are you in local politics *(READ:)*

- ___ very interested,
- ___ fairly interested,
- ___ not very interested, or
- ___ not at all interested?

* Q31. Are you an active member of any community group, including ethnic, political or service groups?

___ NO ___ Yes *(If YES: Which?)* _____

* Q32. Do you actively follow local Windsor sports teams?

___ NO---> *[GO TO Q34]*
___ YES---> Which team(s)? _____

* Q33. Do you ever watch local Windsor sports teams on TV? ___ YES ___ NO *[Comments:_____]*

* Q34. During the past year, have you attended any meetings of local government or other public boards or committees?

___ NO ___ YES *(What was the topic?)* _____

*Q35. Have you ever watched a City or County Council meeting on TV or in person?
YES NO

*Q36A Do you ever watch the TV broadcasts of parliamentary debates or question periods from the House of Commons in Ottawa?
 NO YES --> Why? *Q36B

*Q37. Do you happen to know which weekday City or County Council usually meets?
day: _____ Don't know

*Q38. And can you name any city or County politician? _____ Don't know

Q39. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

Q39A By actively participating in the community, one can accomplish significant change: _____

Q316 Keeping informed of community issues is important for maintaining a strong community.

* **SL** To conclude, I'd like to ask a few questions so that we can compare different groups of
 * **ACE** people. First, in what year were you born? _____ [record year]

S2. How many adults aged 18 or older live in your household? _____

* 53. What is the occupation of the main wage earner in your household?

X54. How many years of education have you completed? ~~12~~
Respondent: _____ (years)
[If level given, record below:]

<u>8</u>	grade school
<u>11</u>	some high school
<u>12</u>	high school graduate
<u>14</u>	some univ./comm.college
<u>15</u>	univ. graduate

*ss. What is your ethnic background? _____

*S6. Do you ever watch ethnic TV programs? [WHAT:] _____ NO

* 57. Do you or does someone in your household belong to a Labour Union?

_____ yes, respondent

_____ yes, resp. and other member

_____ yes, other member only

_____ NO, no one

58. Finally, how many TV sets are there in your household? ____ (number)

Thank you for your time. Good Bye/good night.

FILL OUT LATER: * Respondent's Gender: female male

TIME ENDED: am/pm Date:

Interviewer's name: _____ (signed:)

MEDIA USE Questionnaire Fall 1990

Questions whose variable name starts with "F" were asked only in the Fall 1990 survey. Respondents coded "2" in VAR "IDFW" have no data for these questions.

- * FQ4. Do you have access to Cable service in your home?
 YES
 NO → Is Cable available in your area?
 * FQ4A } NO → GO TO Q.1
 YES → Why did you decide NOT to get Cable?
 * FQ4B }
 → GO TO Q.1

- *F06. Since you started receiving CABLE, did your television viewing habits change?
NO YES: How?

- * FQ8. To watch news on Television, which station or channel do you usually turn to?
 * FQ8A, FQ8B _____ [RECORD USING CHANNEL NUMBERS OR NETWORK NAME]

- *F09. Are you satisfied with the KIND of SHOWS available on TV, or would you like different kinds of programs?
 ___satisfied
 ___not satisfied → What type of programs would you like to see? _
 DK

- *FQ10. Do you use a remote control unit for your TV? YES NO → Q12

- *PQ11. Generally, do you use the remote control to switch channels during dull moments in a show, during commercials, at the end of shows or do you generally stay with the same channel?
- ____ during show, ____ during commercials, ____ between shows, ____ stay with channel

- * FQ12. In your household, how often is the TV on to give background sound, without anyone really watching the TV: [READ ANSWERS]
 ___always, ___often, ___sometimes, ___rarely or ___never

- *FQ13. Now, I'd like to get your opinion on kids and TV. How do you feel about kids watching TV? Please tell me using a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means TV is mostly BAD for kids and 5 means TV is mostly GOOD for kids? (Circle)
- BAD 1 2 3 4 5 GOOD

- *FQ15. How many hours of TV do you watch on a typical weekday, before 6 p.m.? _____
hours

- * F53A. Do you have any children? NO YES --> How Many?

- *F56. Finally, how long have you lived in Windsor? Since: _____ (YEAR)
*WINSINCE - STAY IN WINDSOR IN YEARS

WORKS CITED

- Anderson, Chuck. (1975). Video power: grass roots television. New York: Praeger.
- Babe, Robert E. (1990). Telecommunications in Canada: technology, industry, and government. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Baldwin, Thomas F., & D. S. McVoy. (1983). Cable communication. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Barnouw, Erik. (1990). Tube of plenty: the evolution of American television. (2nd rev. ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Canada. (1968). Broadcasting Act 1967-68, c.25, s.1. Ottawa: Queen's Printer.
- , Department of Communications. (1986). Report of the task force on broadcasting policy. (Caplan-Sauvageau Report). Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada.
- , (1991). Broadcasting Act 1991. Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada.
- Canadian broadcasting and telecommunications: past experience, future options. (1980). A report prepared for the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada.
- Canadian Cable Television Association. (1988). Community channel survey results.
- , (1990). Cable television's community programming into the twenty-first century: the Canadian Cable Television Association's response to Public Notice CRTC 1990-57.
- Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission. Annual Report. Ottawa: Information Canada. (1968-73; 1974-76; 1977-78; 1979-81; 1984-87; 1988-91).
- , (1971a). Cable television in Canada. Ottawa: Information Canada.
- , (1971b). Public announcement. The integration of cable television in the Canadian broadcasting system. Ottawa: CRTC.
- , (1971c). Canadian broadcasting: "A single system." Policy statement on cable television. Ottawa: CRTC.
- , (1972). Local programming on cable television. Ottawa: CRTC.
- , (1974). A resource for the active community. Ottawa: Information Canada.
- , (1975a). Policy Statement. Cable television - the community channel. Ottawa: CRTC.

- , (1975b). Public Announcement. Regulations respecting broadcast receiving undertakings (cable television). Ottawa: CRTC.
- , (1975c). Policies respecting broadcast receiving undertakings (cable television). Ottawa: CRTC.
- , (1979a). Public Announcement. A review of certain cable television programming issues. Ottawa: CRTC.
- , (1979b). Cable Television. Survey of the Community Channel: a report on the 1978 CRTC Survey. Ottawa: CRTC.
- , (1984). Proposed new cable and subscription television regulations. Public Notice CRTC 1984-305. Ottawa: CRTC.
- , (1985). Complementary programming on the community channel. Public Notice CRTC 1985-151.
- , (1986). Regulations respecting broadcast receiving undertakings (Cable television regulations, 1986). Public Notice CRTC 1986-182. Ottawa: CRTC.
- , (1991a). Community channel policy. Public Notice 1991-59. Ottawa: CRTC.
- , (1991b). "CRTC emphasizes local orientation, community participation, stable funding in new cable community channel policy." News release, June 5, 1991.
- , (1991c). Community channel policy. Public Notice 1991-59. McCarthy Tetrault Regulatory Reporter, Issue June 21, 1991, 4-5.
- Carpenter-Huffman, Polly, R. C. Kletter and R. K. Yin. (1974). Cable television: developing community services. New York: Crane, Russak & Company, Inc.
- Church, Laurel M. (1987). Community access television: what we don't know and why we don't know it. Journal of Film and Video, 39(3) Summer 1987, 6-13.
- Collins, Janay and B. R. Litman. (1984). Regulation of the Canadian cable industry: a comparative analysis. Telecommunications Policy, 8(2), 93-106.
- Collins-Jarvis, Lori. (1991). A model of the reciprocal relationship between community attachment and community newspaper use. Unpublished pre-dissertation paper. Annenberg School for Communication.
- Davitian, Lauren-Glenn. (1987). Building the empire: access as community animation. Journal of Film and Video, 39(3) Summer 1987, 35-39.

- Eaman, Ross A. (1987). The media society: basic issues and controversies. Toronto: Butterworths.
- Easton, Kenneth J. (1977). A short history of cable tv. In Search. Vol.IV No.4, Fall: 2-9.
- (1980). Thirty years in cable tv: Reminiscences of a pioneer. Mississauga: Pioneer Publications.
- Finnegan, John R., Jr. & K. Viswanath. (1988). Community ties and use of cable TV and newspapers in a Midwest suburb. Journalism Quarterly, 65(?), 456-473.
- Fuller, Linda K. (1990). Producers of programming for public access: a nonprototypical profile. Medienpsychologie, Jg. 2, Heft 4, 302-314.
- Gaziano, Cecilie. (1984). Neighborhood newspapers, citizen groups and public affairs knowledge gaps. Journalism Quarterly, 61(3), 556-566.
- Gillespie, Gilbert. (1975). Public access cable television in the United States and Canada. New York: Praeger.
- Goldberg, Kim. (1990). The barefoot channel: community television as a tool for social change. Vancouver: New Star Books.
- Gwyn, Sandra. (1983). Citizens' communications in Canada. In Communications in Canadian society, ed. B. Singer. Don Mills: Addison-Wesley.
- Hardin, Herschel. (1985). Closed circuits: the sellout of Canadian television. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre.
- Heeter, Carrie & B. S. Greenberg. (1988). Cableviewing. Norwood: Ablex Publishing.
- Hollander, Richard S. (1985). Video democracy. Mt. Airy: Lomond Publications.
- Hollowell, Mary Louise. (Ed.) (1980). The cable/broadband communications yearbook: Volume 2, 1980-1981. Washington, D.C.: Communications Press.
- Janes, Barry T. (1985). Subscriber use of the public access channel in New Rochelle, New York. Diss. New York U.
- (1987). History and structure of public access television. Journal of Film and Video, 39(3) Summer 1987, 14-23.
- Jankowski, Nick. (1982). Community television: a tool for community action? Communication, 7, 33-58.

- Janowitz, Morris. (1967). The community press in an urban setting: the social elements of urbanism (2nd ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Jeffres, Leo W., and J. Dobos. (1984). Communication and neighborhood mobilization. Urban Affairs Quarterly, 20(1), 97-112.
- Jeffres, Leo W., J. Dobos, and J. Lee. (1988). Media use and community ties. Journalism Quarterly, 65(3), 575-677.
- Jeffres, Leo W., J. Dobos, and M. Sweeney. (1987). Communication and commitment to community. Communication Research, 14(6), 619-643.
- Kasarda, John D., and M. Janowitz. (1974). Community attachment in mass society. American Sociological Review, 39, 328-339.
- Kellner, Douglas. (1990). Television and the crisis of democracy. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Knox, William T. (1973). Problems of communication in large cities. In Talking back: citizen feedback and cable technology, ed. Ithiel de Sola Pool. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- Ledbetter, Ted. (1971). Cablecasting: Local origination for cable television. In Cable television in the cities: community control, public access, and minority ownership, ed. Charles Tate. Washington: The Urban Institute.
- Litman, Barry R. (1979). The vertical structure of the television broadcast industry: the coalescence of power. East Lansing: Michigan State University.
- Low, Colin. (1974). Media as mirror. In A resource for the active community. Ottawa: Information Canada.
- Mayer, Martin. (1973). Cable and the arts. In Talking back: citizen feedback and cable technology, ed. Ithiel de Sola Pool. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- McLane, Betsy A. (1987). Community access cable television: use it or lose it. Journal of Film and Video, 39(3) Summer 1987, 3-5.
- Mitchell, Linda. (1974). A survey of activities. In A resource for the active community. Ottawa: Information Canada.
- Morris, Janet and K. Hildebrandt. (1990). Windsor's community access channel, Cable 11: an audience survey. Survey of community channel viewership. Windsor: Trillium Cable.
- Oringel, Robert S. and S. M. Buske. (1987). The access manager's handbook: a guide for managing community television. Boston: Focal Press.

- Pool, Ithiel de Sola (Ed.). (1973). Talking back: citizen feedback and cable technology. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- Pool, I. S. and H. E. Alexander. (1973). Politics in a wired nation. In Talking back: citizen feedback and cable technology, ed. Ithiel de Sola Pool. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- Rice, Jean. (1980). Cable access: Promise of the 80s. In The cable/broadband communications yearbook: Volume 2, 1980-1981, ed. Mary Louise Hollowell. Washington, D.C.: Communications Press.
- Roman, James W. (1983). Cablemania: the cable television sourcebook. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Shamberg, Michael. (1971). Guerilla television. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Stamm, Keith R. (1988). Community ties and media use. Critical Studies in Mass Communication, 5, 357-361.
- Stamm, Keith R., and L. Fortini-Campbell. (1983). The relationship of community ties to newspaper use. Journalism Monographs, no. 84, 1-26.
- Strick, John. (1983). Socio-economic influences of satellite communications technology. In Communication Canada: Issues in broadcasting and new technologies, ed. R. Lorimer and D. Wilson. Toronto: Kagan and Woo.
- Tate, Charles (ed.). (1971). Cable television in the cities: community control, public access, and minority ownership. Washington: The Urban Institute.
- Television Bureau of Canada. (1992). Television basics.
- Vickroy, Thelma. (1987). Live from Norwalk: How one city saved community programming. Journal of Film and Video, 39(3) Summer 1987, 24-27.
- Young, Margaret. (1992). Local media and political participation: an empirical investigation. Master's Thesis, University of Windsor.

VITA AUCTORIS

Jim Kelly was born on October 23, 1963 in Summerside, Prince Edward Island. He graduated from Riverview High School in Riverview, New Brunswick in 1981, and attended the University of New Brunswick in Fredericton, N.B., where he obtained a Bachelor's Degree in Psychology in 1988. He enrolled in the Master's Program in Communication Studies at the University of Windsor in the fall of 1988.